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## V O L. II.

Containing the LIVES of the  
*Grecian* Historians, &c.

<b>H</b> erodotus. <i>Page</i> 1	Arrian. <i>Page</i> 71
Thucydides. 16	Appian. 77
Xenophon. 27	Dio Cassius. 82
Demosthenes. 35	Herodian. 92
Polybius. 50	Plutarch. 100
Diodorus Siculus. 60	Lucian. 109
Dionysius Halicarnas. 66	

## The *Roman* Historians.

<b>C</b> aius Crispus Sal- lustius. 117	Titus Petronius Ar- biter. 203
Caius Julius Cæsar. 130	Cornelius Tacitus. 215
Marcus Tullius Ci- cero. 146	Lucius Annæus Flo- rus. 231
Cornelius Nepos. 166	Suetonius Tranquil- lus. 237
Titus Livius. 172	Plinius Junior. 246
Velleius Paterculus. 189	M. Junianus Justi- nus. 260
Quintus Curtius Ru- fus. 196	

E D I-

WOR 20 JUN 1891



# EDITIONS of the Historians

In V O L. II.

## G R E C I A N.

<b>H</b> Erodotus. <i>Page</i> 16	Arrian. <i>Page</i> 76
Thucydides. 26	Appian. 82
Xenophon. 34	Dio Cassius. 91
Demosthenes. 50	Herodian. 99
Polybius. 59	Plutarch. 108
Diodorus Siculus. 65	Lucian. 117
Dionysius Halicarnas. 71	

## R O M A N.

<b>C</b> Aius Crispus Sal- lustius. 129	Titus Petronius Ar- biter. 214
Caius Julius Cæsar. 145	Cornelius Tacitus. 230
Marcus Tullius Ci- cero. 165	Lucius Annæus Flo- rus. 236
Cornelius Nepos. 171	Suetonius Tranquil- lus. 245
Titus Livius. 188	Plinius Junior. 259
Velleius Paterculus. 195	M. Junianus Justi- nus. 263
Quintus Curtius Ru- fus. 202	

The



T H E

# Lives *and* Characters

O F T H E

CLASSIC AUTHORS, the GRECIAN  
and ROMAN POETS, HISTORIANS,  
ORATORS and BIOGRAPHERS.

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V O L. II.

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## HERODOTUS.



HERODOTUS, or as others write  
it *Erodotus*, is the most ancient of  
the *Greek* Historians, whose Works  
have reached our hands; and tho' in  
some parts of his History there ap-  
pear some Particulars which seem  
fabulous, which he relates on the Credit of others,  
and which he himself acknowledges to be dubious

VOL. II.

B

and



## 2 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

and incredible; that cannot deprive his Work of the Character of a real History, nor can it be denied, that he has faithfully transmitted whatever he could possibly attain any certain Knowledge of, with regard to the ancient History of the *Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Lydians and Greeks.* He spared no Pains to collect the best Information that could be had. To that end, he travelled into *Egypt*, saw all the principal Cities, carefully viewed the chief Curiosities and most remarkable Places; and conversed with the Priests of that Country, who informed him of their ancient History, and acquainted him with their Customs sacred and civil. Indeed, he speaks of their religious Rites with such Plainness and Clearness in some Cases, and such Reserve and Reverence in others, that I am apt to believe he was initiated into their Ceremonies, and consecrated a Priest of some of their Orders. He likewise visited several Parts of *Greece, Thrace and Scythia*: He went to *Babylon and Tyre*, and was in *Arabia and Palestine*. Thus, being acquainted with the most famous Countries, and valuable Things, and knowing the most considerable Persons of the Age, he applied himself to write the History of the *Greeks and Barbarians*; and performed the noble Work with that Judgment, Faithfulness and Eloquence, that gained him universal Applause and Approbation.

THIS great Writer, according to *Pamphyla*, cited by *Aulus Gellius*, must be born in the first Year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, since he was Fifty-three at the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*, and but four Years old when *Xerxes* marched into *Greece*. There is no room left



left to doubt the Place of his Birth, since he has himself inserted in the Beginning of his Work, both his Name and Country, *This is the History of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, a City of that Part of Greece called Doris, a Region confining on the Meleans*: So that we need not have recourse to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, or any other Authors, to find what Countryman he was, But it is yet necessary to observe, that he was also surnamed the *Thurian*; the Reason of which *Strabo* gives to this purpose: *Herodotus*, the Historian, was of *Halicarnassus*, and afterwards called the *Thurian*, because he went into *Italy* with a Colony sent by the *Athenians* to build a City, which they called *Thurium*, near the Ruins of the ancient *Sibaris*. Hence it is, that the Emperor *Julian*, in one of his Epistles, calls him the *Thurian* Historian.

WE are not so certainly informed of the Names of his Father and Mother, tho' the common Opinion, according to *Suidas*, was, that the Name of his Father was *Lyxus*, and *Dryo* that of his Mother; but, that we are wholly ignorant of his Circumstances and Fortune. 'Tis yet said, that his Parents were of a genteel Family, and that he had a Brother named *Theodorus*. The City of *Halicarnassus* being at that time under the Domination of *Lygdamis*, Grand-son of *Artemisia* Queen of *Caria*, *Herodotus* quitted his Country in search of that Liberty which is necessary to learned Men, and retired to *Samos*; from whence he travelled to *Egypt*, *Italy*, and through all *Greece*; and in his Travels, as was observed before, acquired the Knowledge of the Origin and History of Nations. He then began his History; and having laboured in that

#### 4 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

Work in the Isle of *Samos*, he returned to his own Country, expelled the Tyrant, and finding himself for that Reason exposed to the Envy of his Fellow-Citizens, went into *Greece*.

THE principal Design which he proposed in his History, was, to write the *Persian Wars* against the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Cyrus* to that of *Xerxes*; but he also extended it to the History of other Nations. Tho' his History ends with the Battle of *Plateæ* and *Mytale*, it doth not begin before the eighth Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*, nor end till the *Peloponnesian War*, as he has observed in several Places; amongst others, in his seventh Book, where he says, that long after *Xerxes* returned to the *Lacedæmonians* the Embassadors which had been sent to him to serve as Reprisals for those which were killed at *Sparta*, he stirred up a War betwixt the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, which he believed to have been raised by the Wrath of God; because the *Athenians* killed the Embassadors which the *Lacedæmonians* sent into *Asia*, which happened in the second Year of the *Peloponnesian War*. He touches on this again in his Ninth Book, where he says, that in the War which long after broke out between the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*, the *Lacedæmonians* ravaging the *Athenian Territories*, spared *Decelæa*; which, *Thucydides* says, happened in the nineteenth Year of the *Peloponnesian War*, and the last Year of the Ninety-first Olympiad. Yet *Eusebius* on the Eighty-third Olympiad observes, that he that Year recited his Books at *Athens*, in the Festival of the *Panathenæa*. Others say, that it was at *Olympus* in the Assembly of the *Olympic Games*; both of which may be true: For *Heredotus*, after having recited

recited some Parts of his History at the *Olympic Games* the first Year of the Eighty-third Olympiad, might come to *Athens* and recite them at the *Panathenæa*, where it was much more proper than at the *Olympic Games*; because *Homer's* Verses were recited there, and Crowns and Rewards bestowed on those who succeeded well. It is not known whether it was at *Olympus* or *Athens*, that (as 'tis said) *Thucydides* was so touched with Emulation, that he resolved to undertake the writing of a History, and endeavour to equal or excel *Herodotus*. *Eusebius* observes in his Chronicle, that it was in the fourth Year of the Eighty-third Olympiad, that *Herodotus* recited his History at *Athens*, but it must have been the third Year; for in that same Year he was sent, as we have already hinted, to *Thurii*. *Pliny* says, he compiled his History in the Year of the Foundation of *Rome* Three Hundred, which cannot be wholly true, since he recited it at *Athens* four Years before. But how will that agree with what we have alledged, that there are mentioned Events which happened in the second and nineteenth Years of the *Peloponnesian War*, that is sixteen and twenty Years after?

THIS is yet not difficult to conceive, if we read what *Lucian* tells us of the great Address which our Author made use of to raise a great Reputation over all *Greece*, in a small time, and with Ease. *Herodotus*, says he, having left *Caria* to go into *Greece*, employed his Thoughts in contriving Methods, by which in a small time, without much Trouble, he might acquire a large stock of Glory and Reputation for his Person and Works. He foresaw it would be a tedious

## 6 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

and fatiguing Task, to go to the respective Places, and recite them to the *Corinthians, Athenians, Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*, he imagined that he ought to find them all assembled together; it happened very luckily, that they were then all going to celebrate the *Olympian Games*. He concluded this Time very proper for the Execution of his Design, and that he had met with the Opportunity which he was in quest of; for he should now find a vast Concourse of the principal and most select People of all *Greece*. He appeared then on the Theatre, not as a bare Spectator, but in order to commence an Actor in the *Olympicks*, reciting his Histories and charming the Auditory; which occasioned the giving of the Names of the *Nine Muses* to his Books. This rendred him more famous than even those who bore away the Prizes in the *Olympic Games*. None were ignorant of the Name of *Herodotus*, nor was there a single Person in *Greece* who had not either seen him at the *Olympicks*, or heard those speak of him that came from thence. So that in what Place soever he came, the Inhabitants pointed with their Finger, saying, This is that *Herodotus* who has written the *Persian Wars* in the *Ionic* Dialect: This is he who has celebrated our Victories. Thus the Harvest which he reaped from his Histories, was the receiving in one Assembly the general Applause of all *Greece*; and the sounding his Fame, not only in one Place and by a single Trumpet, but in all the Cities of *Greece* by as many Mouths as there had been Spectators in that Assembly. This may help us to comprehend, that *Herodotus* did not recite the whole Nine Books of his History in one continued Series in the *Olympic Assemblies*,



Assemblies, but only some Parts of them, and those Places which concerned the *Greeks*. He did not then publish the entire Body, but only shewed some Specimen of this Work; which he might afterwards retouch and finish, when at *Thurii*. But these two Passages, which we have alledged, shew, that he lived a long Time after. For, if the last of them is really his, which there is no room to doubt, it follows, that he did not put his last Hand to this Work till after the Nineteenth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War, that is the fourth Year of the Ninety-first *Olympiad*, when he was aged about Seventy-two Years. *Scaliger* computes his Age, making him to have lived precisely the Space of thirteen *Olympiads*, that is, Fifty-two Years: For so long lived the sweetest Muse of *Ionia*, as he calls him; and then goes on thus: He is the most antient Writer in Prose that is now extant, the Treasury of the *Grecian* and *Barbarian* Antiquities; an Author never to be out of the Hands of the Learned, nor to be touched by the Half-learned, the Pedagogues and the Apes of Learning.

HE divided his Work into Nine Books, and gave to each of them the Name of one of the Nine Muses: For 'tis much more probable, that he himself called them by those Names, than that, as *Lucian* imagines, other Persons bestowed those Titles upon them, moved thereto by the Esteem they had for them. This Case is different from that of the Three Orations and Nine Epistles of *Æschines*, which are called by the Names of the *Three Graces*, and the *Nine Muses*; but they do not bear those Names in their Titles. Several, since *Herodotus*, in Imitation of

## 8 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

him, have given the Names of the *Muses* to the Books of their Works.

THE Style of this Writer has been admired by all acquainted with Antiquity. *Cicero*, the best Judge that can be alledged in this Case, says in his Second Book of the *Orator*, that *Herodotus* is so eloquent that nothing pleased him more; and in his *Brutus*, that his Style is free from all Harshness, and glides along like the Waters of a still River: And, to shew his Esteem, he uses the highest Expression the *Roman* Language is capable of, styling him *The Father of History*; not because he was the most ancient, for besides others of less Fame, *Hellanicus* of *Mitylene*, and *Charon* of *Lampsacus*, were before him; but judging him the Prince of Historians, he gave him the Title of *Father*, which the *Romans* ever used to denote a Person most illustrious and highly deserving of the Commonwealth. *Quintilian*, who was an excellent Critick, gives the same Judgment. As for *Herodotus*, says he, besides the flowing Sweetness of his Style, even the Dialect itself, which he uses, has a certain Grace; so that it seems to contain concealed Numbers. Several have wrote History well, but no Man doubts there are two Historians preferable to all the rest: They have two different Qualities, which deserve very near the same Esteem. *Thucydides* is close, concise, and sometimes even crouds himself; *Herodotus* is sweet, natural and prolix. The first is more proper for those whose Passions are quick; the second for those who are sedate: The one excels in Orations, the other in Narrations; the one has more Force, the other more Delicacy. If we appeal to the Judgment of Historians, *Dion* tells us, that his

Discourse

Discourse is grave and delicate; *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, that he is the Model of the *Ionic* Dialect, as *Thucydides* is of the *Attic*. And descending to Particulars concerning his Style, he thus describes it: *Herodotus* very much surpassed all others in the Choice of his Words, and Justice of his Composition, and the Variety of his Figures. His Discourse is composed in such a manner that it resembles an excellent Poem in its persuasive Art, and that charming Grace which pleases in the highest degree. He has not omitted any of the beautiful and great Qualities, unless it be in that manner of Writing adapted to Contests and Disputes; either because he was naturally not made for it, or that he despised it as not agreeable to History: For he doth not make use of a great Number of Orations, nor Speeches to promote Contention, nor has he the necessary Force requisite to excite the Passions and amplify and augment Things. But it may justly be said, that in Recompense his Narrations are eloquent and agreeable; that his Descriptions are exact, natural and faithful; and his Reflections beautiful and judicious. In short, throughout his Work there appears the noble Simplicity and charming Sincerity, which are the most essential Qualities of a good History. *Dionysius* extols the Happiness of this Writer, in choosing a Subject of the greatest Dignity, that shewed his Country in the utmost Glory, and proved to a Demonstration by the uniform Successes of the Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platæa* and *Mycale*, that Superiority of Numbers was but a feeble Defence to the great King of *Persia*, against the military Virtue and excellent Discipline of the *Grecians*. He commends the Smoothness and

unaffected Simplicity of his Narration, the Decency of his Speeches most artfully adapted to the Character of every Person, together with the beautiful Order and Composition of his History, which, by following Things, not Time, ever charms to the last Syllable, and leaves the Reader with a Desire of more: Preferring him to *Thucydides* in every thing, except Brevity, Vehemence and close Reasoning.

*HERODOTUS*, says *Rapin*, is not every where over-exact, because he took in too much Matter; but still I find him of Sincerity more than ordinary, since he treats of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, those of his own Country and Strangers, without the least Shew of Partiality. Yet he strays too much, he frequently leaves his Matter to amuse himself with tedious Digressions, which are for the most part forced and unnatural, wherein he follows the Example of *Homer*, but with less Success. *Longinus* observes, that he has so perfectly imitated *Homer* in his Dialect, that he deserves the Name of *Omerikotatos*.

As to the Truth of his History, it must be owned, that *Herodotus* has been accused by several Authors, of not always closely following it. *Ctesias* suspects him in the Histories of the *Medes* and *Assyrians*. *Manethon* censures his *Egyptian* History. And it is true, that what he relates before *Psammetychus*, and on the Credit of others, is not very certain, which he confesses himself. 'Tis said, that *Thucydides* had *Herodotus* in his eye, when he censured those Histories which were compiled for no other End than to divert the Reader; and which, though they pleased him at the Moment, yet left him without any Fruit of his Reading. *Strabo* particularly



larly accuses our Author of this Fault : He tells us, that *Herodotus* trifles very agreeably, interweaving extraordinary Events with his Narration to supply the Place of Song, Verse and Ornament. *Juvenal* also aims at him, when he says that Ships sailed over Mount *Athos*, and that the *Grecian* History was full of Lyes :

---

*Creditur olim*  
*Velificatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax*  
*Audet in Historia.*

BUT none have ventured to attack the Fidelity of *Herodotus* with so much Freedom as *Plutarch*; and his Judgment would be of great Weight if he had not himself declared that the Interest of his Country had engaged him in the Dispute. *Herodotus* relates, that in *Xerxes's* Expedition, the *Thebans*, to escape their Ruin, abandoned the Common Cause, and joined with the *Persians*. Tho' this Fact was true, and *Demosthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch* being a Native of *Cheronæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear this Affront to his Countrymen, but in revenge discharged his Choler against the Discoverer of the base Cowardice of his Ancestors, in a Book wrote expressly for that purpose, and intitled, *Of the Malignity of Herodotus*. But the Particulars which he objects against him, are either trifling, or such as *Herodotus* took upon the Credit of others, and is not obliged to answer for them; or lastly, *Plutarch* himself, though he blames, was mistaken in the Truth of them. In a word, he betrays a great deal of Puerility and perverse Affectation in that Work.

ON the other Side, all *Greece* by their solemn Approbation gave ample Testimony of the Fidelity of *Herodotus*, in a Time when most of the Facts by him related were very well known. In his Book there appears a manifest Character of Sincerity, which even his Enemies have been forced to acknowledge. He examines the Truth of the Facts, which he relates; he lays down the different Sentiments, and endeavours to discover the true one. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us that he took them from the Accounts of others; he then declares which he suspects, and which he believes false; adding, *As 'tis said, As I have heard, This does not seem at all probable, Those who made these Stories relate.* And he lays down for a Rule, that he writes those Things which others report; but that they ought not to be depended on, any farther than they are probable; that the Character of an Historian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that he ought not to believe that all that hath been told him is true. After these Precautions how can he be accused of Lying, when he relates incredible and fabulous Things on the Credit of others? It cannot be denied, but that it was in his Power to acquaint himself with the *Grecian History*, and that what he wrote (some Exaggerations excepted) was true. Nor ought his Abridgment of the *Lydian History* any more to be suspected, since that Empire was by Situation a Neighbour to the *Asiatic Greeks*, among whom *Herodotus* was born; and the *Lydian Kings* having long warred against the *Greeks*, and being sometimes obliged to invoke their Aid, their History was in a sort interwoven with that of the *Greeks*. Besides, *Herodotus*

was

was born not above sixty Years after the Destruction of the *Lydian* Empire; so that it was not possible that the History of that Nation should be unknown to the neighbouring *Greeks*. He seems very candid in his *Egyptian* History, for he ingenuously owns, that all that he relates before *Psammetychus* is uncertain, and that he reports it only on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Priests, on whom he did not much depend. Those, says he, who will conclude these Things are true, are free to believe them: As for me, I only report what has been told me by several Persons. Those Things, says he again, as well as others which have been related to me, seem to be arant Fables. His History of the *Affyrians* and *Medes* does not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologists have followed, but almost all the Ancients have given *Herodotus* the Preference; and several have attempted to reconcile them. In his *Persian* History, in many Particulars, he differs from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*; but we ought to observe here what *Cicero* says of the latter Piece, that it was not written with the exact Fidelity of an Historian, but to lay down a Model of a just Empire.

THE only remaining Work of *Herodotus* now extant, is his History in Nine Books, respectively intitled with the Names of the Nine Muses. His chief Design was to compile the History of the *Persian* War against the *Greeks*, which might have been intitled a *Persian* History, or *Persica*, according to ancient Custom. The same Subject was treated on by *Dionysius of Miletus*, *Hellanicus of Mitylene*, and *Charon of Lampfacus*; but the Labours of these Authors did not divert him from undertaking a  
new

## 14 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

new Work ; being persuaded that he was better qualified for such an Attempt than they ; in which he was not deceived in the Judgment of *Theophrastus*, according to the Testimony of *Cicero* in his *Orator*, where, speaking of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, he says, they were the first, as *Theophrastus* observes, who raised History, and taught it a more copious and ornamental Style, than the Authors that preceded them. *Herodotus* promises, in two Places of his first Book, to write the History of *Assyria* : There have reigned, says he, several other Kings of *Babylon*, (whom I shall mention in my History of *Assyria*). And in another Place : Thus the *Medes* retook the Empire, and what they were formerly possessed of, and seized *Ninus*, (how they took him, I shall say in another Book) and subdued the *Assyrians*, except the Country of *Babylon*. But these Books of *Herodotus* never appeared, but were probably prevented by his Death ; for if they had been ever published, 'tis scarce to be believed that none of the Ancients should mention them. His Reputation was too great, and Subject too important, to allow them to remain in Oblivion. 'Tis indeed true, that *Aristotle* blames *Herodotus* for saying, that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh* ; because, as he affirms, that Bird as well as all those that have forked Claws, never drink. And this Fact is not mentioned in all the Nine Books we have at present, which leaves room for some Authors to conjecture, that *Aristotle* meant the History of *Assyria*, with which the Siege of *Nineveh* naturally fell in ; but 'tis not impossible that *Aristotle* might have been mistaken, and quote *Herodotus* for some other Author.

THE



THERE is yet besides ascribed to *Herodotus*, a Life of *Homer*, which is at the End of his Works; but there is no Probability, that it is of this ancient *Herodotus*. The Author of that Life does not agree with him on the Time when that Poet lived, for he says, that *Homer* flourished one hundred and sixty-eight Years after the *Trojan War*, and six hundred and twenty-two Years before *Xerxes's Expedition* into *Greece*. But *Herodotus* affirms in his *Euterpe*, that *Homer* and *Hesiod* preceded him four hundred Years; and consequently they flourished more Years after the taking of *Troy*. Besides, the Style of this Piece is very different from that of *Herodotus*. He says many things of *Homer*, which do not at all agree with what the Ancients have said of that Poet, and treats his Subject more like a modern Grammarian than an ancient Historian.

THE Style of this Writer, says *La Mothe*, is rather sweet, clear and easy, than high, concise and pressing, as that of *Thucydides*; and there is found so much Resemblance between him and *Homer*, that the Sophister *Longinus* assures us in his Treatise *On the Sublime*, that none but *Herodotus* perfectly imitated that Prince of Poets, and that he alone is (to use his Term) ὁμοεικὴς αὐτῷ; so that it is usual to advise those who will improve in the understanding of *Homer*, first to read *Herodotus*, to the End that the Prose of the latter may prepare an easy Access to the Poetry of the former, by the Affinity of Style between them.

EDITIONS of *HERODOTUS.*

*Gr. & Lat. Notis* Tho. Gale, *Scholæ Paulinæ Magistri.* Lond. 1679. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. Notis Variorum & Jac. Gronovii.* Lugd. Bat. 1715. Fol.

*Græcè Typis nitidiss. apud Hen. Stephanum.* 1570. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. eadem pagina. Notis Hen. Stephani.* 1592. Fol.



*THUCYDIDES.*

WE know nothing of Certainty concerning the Person of *Thucydides*, but what he himself has delivered in his History ; that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he married ; that his Possessions were very great there, and that he purchased much Esteem by the Largeness of his Expences. For the rest, Antiquity is almost silent in the Matter. It is not doubted but he was of an honourable Extraction, which *Marcellinus*, who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace*, asserting that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father called himself *Olorus*, a Name born by many of the *Thracian* Kings. His Mother's Name was *Hegesipyle*, and he reckoned among his Ancestors *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, those

those two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. It is difficult to decide in what Degree of Kindred he stood to these illustrious Persons; but that he was related to the House of *Miltiades* appears by his Tomb that was a long time to be seen among the Monuments of that Family. Near to the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a Place named *Coela*, and in it were erected the Monuments called *Gimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which none but such as were of that Relation might be laid: Among those was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this Inscription, *Thucydides Olori Halimusius*.

AGREEABLE to his Nobility of Birth was his Education in the Study of Eloquence and Philosophy. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate of him, that when a Youth, hearing *Herodotus* read his History at the Solemnity of the *Olympic Games*, he fell a crying through a gallant Jealousy and a Sense of Emulation, which gave occasion to *Herodotus* to compliment the Father of that young Gentleman, as giving an infallible Earnest of his future Glory. He took that (says *La Mothe*) for a Sign of the growing Greatness of his Genius; and as a Thorn pricks as it grows, he judged that so extraordinary an Emotion in his tender Age, proceeding from so rare a Subject, would produce one Day something memorable, and be followed by those agreeable Watchings and Disquiets which give Immortality to the Learned of Mankind. *Thucydides* (he goes on) lived about four hundred and thirty Years before the Incarnation; and as he was a Person of illustrious Birth, and a great Fortune added to the Excellency of his Endowments, he had no Temptation to betray Truth in what he was to deliver

## 18 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

to Posterity; and though some have censured the Manner of his Writing, few ever questioned the Truth of it.

*ANAXAGORAS* was his Master in Philosophy, whose Opinions being of a Strain above the Apprehensions of the Vulgar, procured him the Character of an Atheist; which Name they bestowed upon all who did not implicitly believe their ridiculous Religion, and in the End it cost him his Life. *Socrates*, another of his Scholars, for the same Reasons underwent the same Fortune; and, no wonder, if this noble *Grecian* suffered under the same Imputation. But his Character was greatly abused by this Scandal; for the Severity of his Morals and his Piety appear plainly in several Places of his Works, where he ever speaks like a Man of excellent Principles, and his Discourse carries always in it a masculine Air of Virtue. Observe what he says of a famous Commander, that was put to death by the *Syracusians*, after his Defeat: Thus fell *Nicias*, who, of all his Contemporaries, least deserved to die in such a Manner, as having always been a zealous Worshipper of the Gods. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the great Men of that Age, which was the politest and of the finest Taste that has ever been among the *Greeks*, gave the finishing Stroke, so as to fit his Mind with those noble Ideas and Principles which make an absolute Gentleman and an accomplish'd History.

IN Rhetoric, he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his Description in the Eighth Book of his History) for the Power of his Speech almost a Miracle, and dreaded by the People for his Eloquence.



quence. He it was that contrived the Ruin of the Democracy, and set up the Government of the Four Hundred; for which he was put to death, when the People again recovered their Authority, notwithstanding that he pleaded his own Cause the best of any Man living to that Day.

*THUCYDIDES* being descended from a Race of Kings, approved best of a Regal Government; and therefore it is no wonder that he meddled as little as possible in the Affairs of the Commonwealth: Yet though he retired upon the Coast of *Thrace*, where the chief of his Estate lay, (for he increased his Fortune by marrying a Princess of the Blood-Royal) yet he could not wholly avoid the Service of the State, which proved afterwards to him very unfortunate. For while he resided in the Isle *Thasus*, it happened that *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* besieged *Amphipolis*, a City belonging to the *Athenians*, upon the Confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, distant from *Thasus* about half a Day's Sail. The *Athenian* Captain sent to *Thucydides* to levy Forces, and hasten to relieve him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had Authority to raise Soldiers for Defence of the Government) and he did accordingly. But he came thither one Night too late, for he found the City surrendered to the Enemy: For this he was afterwards banished. Nevertheless he secured himself in the City of *Eion*, and preserved it to the *Athenians*; defeating *Brasidas*, who came down from *Amphipolis* the next Morning, and assaulted it. The Author of his Banishment is supposed to have been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those

## 20 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

those times, but a most acceptable Speaker among the People.

IT was during his Exile that he wrote his History, finding more Leisure and better Instructions in the Enemy's Affairs, among whom he lived, as he declares in his Fifth Book, in which he speaks of his Banishment, and his Retirement among the *Lacedæmonians*, by whose means he became acquainted with the Mystery of Affairs, which he had no Possibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he married bringing him a vast Fortune, he made use of it to collect his Memoirs, and he disburs'd considerable Sums to the *Lacedæmonian* Commanders, to be instructed in the Truth of those Things, which his own Party for their own Interest had disguised. He retreated to *Egina*, a small Island of *Peloponnesus*, where he began to work upon his History. His Exile lasted twenty Years, and he died before he had put his finishing Hand to it.

*THUCYDIDES* chose for the Subject of his History, The *Athenian* and *Peloponnesian* War. The common Division of this Work is into Eight Books; the last is imperfect, and has been ascribed by some to *Thucydides's* Daughter. Others make *Xenophon* the Author, but the Style declares it not to be his. The most natural Account why this Book differs from the rest, is, that the Author died before he had time to beautify it, and give it its complete Finishing: For he died, according to *Marcellinus*, as he was writing the Transactions of the Twenty-first Year of the War, which lasted Twenty-seven. The Transactions of the other six Years are to be found in *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*.

THE

THE Characters drawn of this Historian by ancient and modern Writers of the first Note, will best serve to give us a just Idea of his extraordinary Abilities, and of the Value of that noble Work with which he has obliged Posterity. There is one Virtue (say *Dionysius*) in Eloquence the Chief of all the rest, and without which there can be no Excellency in Speaking. What is that? That the Language be pure, and retain the Propriety of the *Greek* Tongue: This both of them observe diligently; for *Herodotus* is the best Rule of the *Ionic*, and *Thucydides* of the *Attic* Dialect. *Cicero*, in his Book *de Oratore*, speaking of the *Greek* Rhetoricians, And therefore, says he, *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are the more admirable; for though they lived in the same Age with those I have before named (meaning *Thrasymachus*, *Gorgius* and *Theodorus*) yet were they far from this kind of Delicacy, or rather indeed Foolery. For the one without Rub glides gently, like a still River; and the other, *Thucydides*, runs more strongly, and in Matter of War, as it were, blows the Trumpet, and sounds the Alarm. And in these two, as *Theophrastus* observes, History has roused herself, and ventures to speak more copiously and with more Ornament than in those that were before them.

*THUCYDIDES* (says *Plutarch*, in his Book of the Glory of the *Athenians*) aims always at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same Passions that they were in who were Beholders. The Manner how *Demosthenes* harangued the *Athenians* on the rugged Shore before *Pylus*, how *Brasidas* urged the Steersman to run his Galley a-ground, how he went to the Ladder or Place in the Galley  
for

## 22 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

for Descent, how he was hurt and swooned and fell down on the Ledges of the Galley, how the *Spartans* fought after the Manner of a Land-fight upon the Sea, and the *Athenians* of a Sea-fight upon Land: Again, in the *Sicilian War*, how a Battle was fought by Sea and Land, with equal Fortune: These Things, I say, are so described and so evidently set before our Eyes, that the Mind of the Reader is no less affected than if he had been present in the Actions.

WE may form a Judgment of the Style of this Historian by *Rapin*, which, he observes, is exalted, noble and sublime, and is the Reason of his using so frequent and so bold Metaphors, in pure political Terms, yet better managed than those of *Plato*; and hence he arrived at Grandeur of Expression, which reigns so strongly in his Writings: In which he is ever great without being extravagant in his Thoughts; always natural, yet falls not into any thing vulgar or common. This he took from *Homer*, whose Imitator he perfectly was. He proposed him for a Pattern in his simple though noble Expression, and almost in the whole Order of his Discourse, that is lively and animated. *Marcellinus* adds, that he betook himself to one *Prodicus*, of the Island *Cos*, for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgius* of *Leontium*, for Order and Disposition; and besides that, this Historian formed himself upon *Pindar* for the sublime Style and the Greatness of Expression, which was his Excellence. He had also learnt of *Socrates* by the Acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a frank and ingenuous Narration, which he was so accustomed to, and procured him the Gift of Persuasion in so high a measure; true it is, that no Man  
knew



knew how to use his Reason better, or to make it more prevalent by those natural but strong and pressing Turns he gave it. His way of reasoning by frequent *Entymeme*, which *Demosthenes* had so well copied, is strong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air of his, which makes his distinguishing Character. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* concludes him to be the first Inventor of that way, which has set him so far above all other Writers. We find in the end of that Critick's Discourse at *Tubero*, the Places where *Demosthenes* has best expressed the Force and Grandeur of *Thucydides*, in his Imitation. 'Twas upon this great Model that noble Orator was formed, to which he applied himself with that exceeding Industry, as to transcribe this Author's History eight times over, to take his Character and copy out his Excellence, as we are assured by his Commentator *Ulpian* the Rhetorician. In fine, *Thucydides* had a Nobleness of Thought, a Choice of Words, a Boldness of Imagination, a Vigour of Discourse, a Profoundness of Reasoning, a Neatness of Conception, a Fineness of Stroke, Colour and Expression, which none of the other *Greek* Historians have been Masters of, which gave the most ingenious Criticks among the Ancients reason to acquaint us; he took the true Style History ought to be wrought in. And indeed, whatever he says, whatever passes through his Mind, receives a turn of Greatness and Beauty, beyond what any others can afford us. He is a Genius of an Order above the common Standard, that conceives every thing nobly, and gives a sort of Elevation to the most ordinary Things.

I MUST

## 24 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

I MUST not omit the Sentiments of a learned Critick of our own Nation, Dr. *Felton*, in his Dissertation upon the Classics: *Thucydides* doth sometimes write in a Style so close, that almost every Word is a Sentence; and every Sentence almost acquaints us with something new: So that from the Multitude of Causes and Variety of Matter crouded together, we should suspect him to be obscure; but yet so happy, so admirable a Master is he in the Art of Expression, so proper and full, that we cannot say whether his Diction doth more illustrate the Things he speaks of, or whether his Words themselves are not illustrated by his Matter. So mutual a Light do his Expression and Subject reflect on each other. His Diction, tho' it be pressed and close, is nevertheless great and magnificent, equal to the Dignity and Importance of his Subject. He first after *Herodotus* ventured to adorn the Historians Style, to make the Narration more pleasing, by leaving the Flatness and Nakedness of former Ages. This is most observable in his Battles, where he does not only relate the meer Fight, but writeth with a martial Spirit, as if he stood in the hottest of the Engagement; and what is most excellent as well as remarkable, in so close a Style, that it is numerous and harmonious, that his Words are not laboured nor forced, but fall into their Places in a natural Order, as into their most proper Situation.

*THUCYDIDES*, in the Opinion of *Cicero*, excelled all others in the Art of speaking, he almost equals the Number of his Words with the Number of his Sentences; his Expressions are so fit and short, that no Man can determine whether

whether he has more illustrated his Subject by his Oratory, or his Oratory by his wise Reflexions.

QUINTILIAN observes he is always close and short, and ever present in his Business. *Herodotus* is sweet, candid, and diffused. *Thucydides* represents best the Passions in Motion, *Herodotus* shews them in a Calm. *Herodotus* is the best at a long, *Thucydides* at a short Oration. This forceth, and that wins a Man's Consent. He wrote a History, says *Lipsius*, in which he relates neither many, nor great Affairs and yet perhaps he has won the Garland from all those who have represented many and great Occurrences. His Discourse is always close and short, his Sentences are frequent, and his Judgment sound; giving every where excellent, but concealed Advice, directing thereby Mens Lives and Actions. His Orations and Excursions are almost Divine, the oftner you read him, the more you will gain by him; and yet he will never dismiss you without a Thirst of reading him again. He has left us a History so well composed, that it will ever be the Subject of the Wonder of Posterity, rather than their Imitation.

To conclude this Subject. The Style of *Thucydides* is more noble and lofty than that of *Herodotus*, yet it never fails of being natural; he has Fire, Force and Grandeur: Every thing in his Writing keeps up it self, nothing languishes or grovels. This Historian, and *Livy*, are sufficient to acquaint a Man what Genius History requires. Antiquity has nothing to boast of more perfect than their Works. *Thucydides* has establish'd his Reputation with so pure Ideas, that he deserves to be credited in all Ages. It

## 26 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

is hard to meet with one of this Author's Temper, who, tho' he had been extremely wrong'd by the Tyrant *Pericles*, yet he always praised him as Occasion offered, and did justice in his Writings to the *Athenians*, altho' unjustly they had banished him their Commonwealth. In a word, *Thucydides* was exact in all he wrote, and faithful in all he said; and tho' sometimes he seems austere and surly, he ever supports his Character with Dignity and Grandeur.

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### EDITIONS of *THUCYDIDES*.

*Gr. & Lat. separatim impress. Typis nitidiss. Versio Latina est Laur. Vallæ.*

*apud H. Stephanum, 1564. Fol.*

*Iterum. Gr. & Lat. in eadem Pagina.*

*apud Hen. Steph. 1588. Fol.*

*Gr. Lat. notis Variorum & Joh. Hudsoni.*

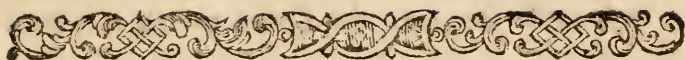
*Oxon, 1696. Fol.*

*Gr. & Lat. Notis Var. & Jos. Wasse. accedunt Emendat. Car. And. Dukeri.*

*Amst. 1732. Fol.*







## XENOPHON.

**X**ENOPHON, Son of *Gryllus*, was an *Athenian*, born in the City of *Erchiea*, about four hundred Years before the Nativity; he passed the first Years of his Life under the Discipline and Instruction of *Socrates*. He became known to the younger *Cyrus* by means of *Proxenus* the *Bæotian*, a Disciple of *Gorgias Leontinus*, who was favoured by that Prince, and resided with him at *Sardis*. *Proxenus*, then *Xenophon's* Friend, wrote to *Athens* to invite him to come to *Cyrus*; *Xenophon* shew'd his Letter to *Socrates*, desiring his Advice; that Philosopher referred him to the Oracle of *Delphi*, which *Xenophon* accordingly consulted; but instead of asking whether he should go to *Cyrus*, he inquired how he should go to him; for which *Socrates* reprimanded him, yet advised him to go. Being arrived at the Court of *Cyrus*, he acquired at least as great a Share of that Prince's Favour as *Proxenus*. He accompanied *Cyrus* with ten thousand *Greeks* in his Expedition into *Persia*, against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and his Courage and Conduct appeared in the famous Retreat of the ten thousand Men, whom he brought from the extreme Parts of *Persia*, remaining victorious over all those who attempted to oppose his Passage. The History of which he has himself

## 28 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

written in his Book entitled, *The Expedition of Cyrus*, also called *The Retreat of the Ten thousand*.

After this Retreat, the Losses which this Body met with at *Pontus*, and *Seuthes* King of the *Odrysians* perfidiously refusing them their Pay, after they had settled him in his Dominions, obliged *Xenophon* to put them into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, whilst he went to *Agésilas* King of *Sparta*, and engaged the Friendship of that Prince; which render'd him odious to the *Athenians* (who thereupon banished him their Country) but obtained him the Protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who gave him a Retreat among them. He went with *Agésilas* to the War against the *Thebans*, and afterwards retired to *Scyllus* in the Province of *Elis*, with his Wife *Philesia*, and his two Sons *Gryllus* and *Diodoras*, and passed the Remainder of his Days in hunting and writing his History. *Dinarchus* affirms that the *Lacedæmonians* gave him a House and Lands in that Place; and 'tis also said that *Philopidas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, made him a Present of *Dardanian* Slaves; as 'tis also reported that the *Elei* coming to *Scyllus* with their Forces, took away his Lands, and that he then fled at first to *Elis*, and afterwards to *Lepreum*, whither his Children had escaped with some Slaves, and that from thence he went to live at *Corinth*.

AFTER this he sent his two Sons to *Athens*, and enter'd them among the Auxiliaries which the *Athenians* sent to the *Lacedæmonians*. They were both in the Battle of *Mantineia*, where *Epaminondas* was slain. *Gryllus*, who was among the Horse, was killed as he was bravely charging the Enemy, but his Brother who did not distinguish himself came off unhurt, and afterwards had

had a Son called *Gryllus*. *Xenophon* is said to have received the News of the Death of his Son, whilst he was offering a Sacrifice, and crowned with Flowers, and being informed of the Loss, he laid aside his Chaplet; but when he heard that he died like a brave Man, he reassumed it. Some add, that being told of his Son's Death, he did not shed one Tear, but only said, *I very well knew that I begot him mortal*. The Authors of those Times exercised their Wits in writing Panegyricks and Epitaphs on *Gryllus* to please his Father; and if we believe *Hermippus*, *Socrates* himself has been censured for being one of them who employed himself that way. *Laertius*, from whose Life of *Xenophon* we have taken what we have just now been saying, tells us, that he flourish'd particularly in the fourth Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad; that he went with *Cyrus* when *Xenocrates* was Archon, in the Year which preceded the Death of *Socrates*. He died, according to the Testimony of *Stesicles* the *Athenian*, in his Book of *Olympiads* and *Archons*, in the first Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when *Calliclemus* was Archon, and *Philip* Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*. He was at *Corinth* when he died, and very old; if we believe the Testimony of *Demetrius Magnes*.

*XENOPHON* was a Person exceedingly religious, continually sacrificing, and had the Reputation of being very well skilled in that sort of Divination, which was pretended to be drawn from the Inspection of the Entrails of the Victims. He imitated *Socrates*, and was Antagonist to *Plato*. *Diogenes Laertius* says, that he wrote forty Books, which have been variously divided. The

### 30 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

Historical are the Expedition of *Cyrus*, or the Retreat of the Ten thousand; the Continuation of *Thucydides's* History, and the *Cyropædia*; to which may be added, the Panegyric of *Agæfilaus* King of *Lacedæmon*; the Treatise on the Republic and Laws of the *Lacedæmonians*; a Tract of the *Athenian* Republic; the Apology for *Socrates*; and the Treatise of the Actions and Sayings of that Philosopher, in four Books, which are rather Philosophical than Historical. We have besides of him, The *Œconomy*; his Feast; *Hiero*, or of a Kingdom; of Imposts; and three small Tracts, one of Horses, the second of Governing them, and the third of Hunting, together with the Fragments of some Epistles.

THIS Writer, says *La Mothe*, does not owe the Fame he has had so many Ages to History alone, for Philosophy and Arms have contributed to it; and for these three Qualifications he may be as well termed *Trismegistus*, as *Hermes* the *Egyptian*, since he is universally acknowledged to be a very great Captain, Philosopher, and Historiographer. He has common with *Cæsar* the first and last Qualities; and they are not deceived who find a third Resemblance in their Style, Purity, Eloquence, and Sweetness, being equally natural to them both. They have each an agreeable Manner of Expression without Art or Affectation, though no Art or Affectation can come near it. The Surname of *Apes Attica*, and *Athenian Muse*, with which all the Ancients have dignified *Xenophon*, is not only a Witness of the Beauty of his Language, and of that honey-like Sweetness, which the *Graces* seem to have poured on it with their own Hands, (to speak like *Quintilian*) but it is a particular  
Mark



Mark of his *Attic* Dialect, wherein he excelled so much, that *Diogenes Laertius* writing his Life, gives no other Reason for the bad Intelligence that was between him and *Plato*, than the Jealousy they conceived one against the other upon that account. Yet *Marcellinus* who attributes to *Thucydides* the Height of Eloquence, gives the lowest Rank to *Xenophon*, placing *Herodotus* between both. And *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, when he observes that *Xenophon* has often imitated *Herodotus*, adds, that the former was always much inferiour to the latter.

BUT notwithstanding this, it is very considerable that *Xenophon* was the first Philosopher who applied himself to the compiling of a History, which, in what relates to the *Grecian* Affairs, treats of the Transactions of eight and forty Years, and begins where *Thucydides* ended, shewing *Alcibiades* his Return to his Country, whom *Thucydides* in his last Book left meditating upon that Retreat. Nor is it a small Glory to *Xenophon*, or the least Part of his Praise, that *Thucydides* his Books, being then unknown, falling into his Hands when he might with Facility have suppressed them, or as a Plagiary ascribed them to himself, he took care to publish them, by which Act of his, every Man may know what Honour he deserved from those who have an Esteem for the *Grecian* Eloquence or History, and the modern Criticks have not failed to give him equal Commendations. Besides the Continuation of the History begun by *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* (as was said before) has left us that of the Enterprize of young *Cyrus* against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and the memorable Retreat of ten thousand *Grecians* from the Extremity of *Persia*



### 32 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

to their own Country, in which he had almost the whole Honour, as well for his Counsel and Discipline, as the Excellency of his Conduct.

HIS *Cyropædia*, or what he writ of the Institution of *Cyrus* the Elder, is not an historical Treatise, but purely Moral, where he drew the Figure of a great Prince without confining himself to the Truth, except in two or three Events, viz. the taking of *Babylon*, and the Captivity of *Cræsus*: All the rest is feigned, and has nothing in it commendable, but the Agreeableness of the Fable. The Narrations of this Historian are very often Childish. *Hystaspas*'s Story concerning the Soldier who was discontented with his Mess, with many other Tales related by *Cyrus* and his Soldiers, are extremely frigid, and the Jest which pass betwixt this General and his Men are mean and low, and inconsistent with Decorum. His Harangues for the most part are trifling and tedious. Every thing by *Xenophon* is made the Subject of an Harangue. *Cyrus* cannot give his Soldiers Horse and Arms, without making a Speech; however, his last Speech to his Son is very beautiful; his Exhortations to Brotherly Love, founded on Arguments of personal Experience and Knowledge, and the many political Instructions in this Speech must please the Reader. His Account of the Soul, which he makes Immortal when separated from the Body, and the Return of the Body to its proper Elements, is intirely agreeable to Christian Philosophy. But above all, his Principles for Religion are most divine; whether the Soul be immortal or not, he strictly enjoins his Sons to reverence the Gods for their Eternity, Omniscience and Omnipotency, and for preserving the

the Order of the Universe for so many Ages without Confusion or Detriment.

THE Compositions of *Xenophon*, of which we have spoken, are such, that as they may serve for a Rule to the first Minister of State, in all the Extent of Politicks; so likewise they are capable to form great Captains, and give the World Generals; and we have two notable Examples of this among the *Romans*; for they acknowledge that their *Scipio*, surnamed *Africanus*, had almost always *Xenophon's* Works in his Hands, and that nothing made *Lucullus* capable to oppose such a formidable Enemy as King *Mithridates*, but the reading the Writings of *Xenophon*. Of which *Lucullus* made so good Use by Sea, (he who before had a very small Insight into the Affairs of War) that he knew enough afterwards to gain those famous Victories, which few of the Learned are ignorant of, and whereby the most considerable Provinces of *Asia* became tributary to the *Romans*. In short, *Xenophon*, whether he writes of the Management of Family Affairs, or the more arduous Matters of State and Policy; whether he gives an Account of the Wars of the *Grecians*, or the Morals of *Socrates*, the Style, tho' so far varied as to be suitable to every Subject, yet is always clear and significant, sweet without Lusciousness, and elegantly easy. In this genteel Author we have all the Politeness of a studied Composition, and yet all the Freedom and winning Familiarity of elegant Conversation.

EDITIONS of *XENOPHON.*

*Opera Gr. & Lat. notis* Joh. Leunclavii.

Francof. 1596. Fol.

*Idem* Verbatim recusus. edit. opt.

Parif. 1625. Fol.

*Opera Gr. & Lat. cum* Hen. Dodwelli *Chronologia*  
& *Tabulis Geograph.* curâ Edw. Wells, 5 vol.

Oxon. 1703. 8vo.

*Memorabilia* Socratis, Gr. & Lat. *Notis Var.*

Oxon. 1741. 8vo.

*Cyropædia*, Gr. & Lat. *Notis & variis Lect.* curâ  
Tho. Hutchinson.

Oxon. 1727. 4to.

*Iterum ad verbum recusus.*

Lond 1736. 8vo.

*De Expeditione* Cyri, vel *Cyri Anabasis.* Gr. Lat.  
*variis Lect.* a Tho. Hutchinson.

Oxon. 1735. 4to.

*Iterum, ad verbum recusus.*

Oxon. 1747. 8vo.

*This last Work is excellently translated into English,*  
*with useful Notes by* Edward Spelman, Esq; 2 vol.  
8vo.

1749.



*DEMOST-*



## DEMOSTHENES.

**DEMOSTHENES**, the Father of this *Demosthenes*, was a Citizen of *Athens* of the best Rank and Quality (says *Theopompus*) and surnamed the *Sword-maker*, because he had a large Work-house, and kept Servants skilful in that Art at Work; though others assert he was a common *Blacksmith*. His Mother (if we believe *Æschines*) was descended of one *Gelon*, who fled his Country upon an Accusation of Treason, and of a *Barbarian* Woman.

HE lost his Father when he was but seven Years old, who left him in a plentiful Condition, for the Value of his Estate was about fifteen Talents. After his Death he fell into the Hands of Guardians, that too much consulted their own Interest, and partly through Negligence, and partly through Covetousness, took not that Care of his Education which they ought; so that he learned scarce any of those Things, which it is the Business of Parents generally to fix in the Minds of Children, when they first begin to enter upon a Course of Study. His Mother gave Encouragement to this Neglect, by her too great Fondness of him. 'Tis true indeed, he was of so tender a Constitution, and enjoy'd such an ill state of Health, that he could not follow his Studies with much Application. As soon as he was

### 36 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

sixteen Years of Age, which is the proper Time for the learning of Rhetorick, instead of being sent to the School of *Isocrates*, who was then in most Esteem, he was placed with the Orator *Isæus*, because as his Reputation was less than that of others, so were his Demands; and it was there that he contracted those ill Habits, which, he himself tells us, he afterwards broke himself of with great Difficulty.

HIS eager Inclination to the Study of Oratory was occasioned by *Callistratus*, who being to plead in open Court upon a remarkable Cause, the Expectation of the Issue was very great, as well for the Ability of the Orator, who had then a most flourishing Reputation, as also for the Fame of the Action itself. Therefore *Demosthenes* having heard the Tutors and the Schoolmasters agree among themselves to be present at this Trial, with much Importunity persuades his Tutor to take him along with him to the Hearing; who having some Acquaintance with the Door-keepers, easily procured a Place where the Youth might sit unseen, and hear what was said. *Callistratus* carrying the Cause, and being much admired, *Demosthenes* began to look upon his Glory with a kind of Emulation, observing the Applause he received from the Audience. From this Time therefore bidding farewell to other Sorts of Learning and puerile Discipline, he now began to exercise himself, and to take pains in Declaiming, as if he meant indeed to be an Orator: And he soon found Occasion to exercise his Talent, for he was obliged to go to Law with his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, and to write Orations against them, who in the mean time found out many Subterfuges



refuges and Tricks to renew the Suits ; but being thus exercised in Declaiming, and succeeding in it, though not without some Toil and Hazard, he could not for all this recover any considerable Part of his Father's Estate ; however, attaining by this Means a Confidence in Speaking, and some competent Experience in it, and having got a Taste of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings, he now ventured to advance further, and to undertake Publick Business.

BUT when he first addressed himself to the popular Assemblies, he met with great Discouragements, and was derided for this odd and uncouth Way of speaking, his Periods were confused, and his Arguments forced, which made all seem very harsh and tedious. Besides, he had a Weakness in his Voice, a perplexed and indistinct Utterance, and a Shortness of Breath, which by breaking and disjointing his Sentences, much obscured and weakened the Sense of what he spoke ; so that in the End being quite disheartened, he left off Pleading for some time, and forsook the Assembly. But by the Advice, and partly by the Upbraidings, of his Friends, he determined at length to overcome all Difficulties, and being convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from a proper Action, he began to esteem it a small Matter, and as good as nothing, for a Man to exercise himself in Declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation and the Decency of Speaking. What Nature denied him, he resolved to attain by Labour; and his Eagerness in the Pursuit of Eloquence was so violent, that he found nothing impossible or disproportioned to its Force. So that

### 38 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

that it was nothing but Ambition that formed him, and made him conquer the vicious Inclinations of an Age that had a Relish of nothing but Pleasure, and that too in a City where all manner of Wickedness was authoriz'd by the ill Examples of a People wholly given to Luxury and Debauchery. And this made him prefer the Conversation of *Theophrastus* and *Xenocrates* and of the *Platonists*, before that of *Phryne*, in whose House there was a general Rendezvous of all that was notoriously infamous in *Athens*.

NAY, he would impose upon himself a Necessity of retiring for some Time from the Conversation of the World, which he did by a very odd Expedient, which was to shave half his Head, that upon the Account of the Shame of that Deformity, he might be obliged to hide himself for some Months. One may in a Manner say of him, that he was content to be buried alive, or at least that he would not live for any other End, but to apply himself to the Study of Eloquence, to which he had devoted all his Thoughts.

THIS Retirement, and all the other Hardships he underwent, which are mentioned so much to his Honour, are evident Tokens, and remarkable Instances of the Violence of his Inclinations. Can any thing be conceived more unaccountable than to go as he did and declaim upon the Sea-shore, that by hearing the roaring of the Waves, he might accustom himself so as not to be disturbed at the Commotions of the People, and the Noise and Tumult of Assemblies? What is there more painful than to speak as he did, with Vehemence, climbing up to the Top of steep and craggy Places, that he might thereby strengthen his Voice? His Tongue was so unweildy

weildy that he could not pronounce certain Letters without much Difficulty, to correct which Defect he used to declaim with his Mouth full of Pebble-Stones. He also practised speaking to a Looking-glass, that he might thereby acquire a graceful Air, easy and natural ; and he had also recourse to a celebrated Comedian of those Times, called *Neoptolemus*, to learn of him how to pronounce well, and make himself Master of all the exterior Ornaments and Graces of Action. He laboured Night and Day, outwatched the poor Mechanic in *Athens* (that was forced to perpetual Drudgery to support himself and his Family) till he had acquired such a Mastery in his noble Profession, such a perfect Habit of nervous and convincing Eloquence, as enabled him to defy the strongest Opposition, and to triumph over Envy and Time. By these Fatigues, and by this unwearied Perseverance, he came at last to surmount all those Impediments in his Speech, and all those other Imperfections which so much disgusted the *Athenians* the first Time he spoke in Publick.

THE Cause he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and honourable, in the Defence of his Country against *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, as the famous Orations called *Philippicks* do abundantly testify. He behaved himself so worthily in the Cause of Liberty, that he soon grew famous, and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Courage in speaking. He was adored through all *Greece* ; the great King of *Persia* courted him, and by *Philip* himself he was more esteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confess that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour,

nour. He observed that Steadiness in his Conduct, that the Party and Way of Government which he held with from the beginning, to those he kept constant to the End, and was so far from leaving them while he lived, that he chose rather to forsake his Life than to abandon his Friends. The Authority, Armies, Threats and Promises of *Philip* could never work upon him; and to use the Expression of *Plutarch*, All the Gold of *Macedonia* could not bribe him. This made *Antipater*, one of *Alexander's* Successors, say, *That had any one of his Ministers been as uncorrupt as Demosthenes, he had been invincible.* That which this Prince adds, gives us still a greater Idea of the Virtue of this Orator: It was the Love of his Country that prevailed upon him to undertake the Government; for he made that the Employment of his Virtue, which others had engaged in to serve their Interest. Such a Man as this, says he, would be very necessary for me, to advise with me in my present Affairs, to hear him who would speak his Mind frankly and freely amidst the feigned Applauses of Flatterers. Such a sincere and faithful Counsellor it is I seem to want, to direct me amidst all these Court Dissimulations. But tho' he defended himself against the *Macedonian* Gold offered him by *Philip*, who was a sworn Enemy to the *Athenians*, he could not resist the *Persian* Present that was made him by *Darius*, who was a Friend to the Commonwealth.

His inveterate Hatred of *Philip* urged him to spirit up a War, by uniting all *Greece* in a Confederacy against him; but the *Macedonian* Arms prevailed. In this Action *Demosthenes* behaved with great Cowardice; for deserting his

Post,



Post, and throwing down his Arms, he ran away most shamefully, not at all concerned (says *Plutarch*) for the Inscription which was written upon his Shield in Letters of Gold, *With good Fortune*. He was so distracted with Fear, that he mistook a Bush that caught hold of his Coat for an Enemy, and cry'd out *Quarter*. This Defeat gave Occasion to his Enemies to accuse him to the People, but he was honourably acquitted. After the Death of *Philip* he attempted the same Designs against *Alexander*, he bestirred himself in the Rostrum, and writ Letters to the *Persian* Officers who commanded under the King in *Asia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*, calling him *Child* and *Changeling*. But as soon as *Alexander* had settled his Affairs in his own Country, and came himself in Person with his Army into *Bœotia*, down fell the Courage of the *Athenians*, the People were in an Uproar, and resolved to send Embassadors to the young Prince, and amongst others they made choice of *Demosthenes* for one; but his Heart failing him for fear of the King's Anger, he returned back from *Cithæron*, and left the Embassy. In the mean time *Alexander* sent to *Athens*, requiring ten of their Orators to be delivered up to him, but by the Intercession of *Demades*, he prevailed with him both to pardon the Men, and to be reconciled to their City.

SOON after this, *Demosthenes* gave his Enemies a remarkable Advantage against him; for they found Reason to accuse him of having received twenty Talents, with a Piece of Plate of great Value, from an Officer of *Alexander's*; who being disgraced for Male-Administration of his Revenues,



## 42 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

venues, was retired to *Athens*. This Present brought him under a Suspicion, because it came from one who had been a Creature of the most declared Enemy the Commonwealth had. *Dinarchus*, prevailed upon by the Enemies of *Demosthenes*, accused him on that Account of Bribery to the People, and such was his Misfortune that he could not be heard in Justification of himself. The Esteem they had for him was turned into Contempt, and when he came to the Bar he was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Prison. But soon growing impatient and weary of his Confinement, he made his Escape. He was pursued and retaken, and then banished. He bore his Exile after a very unmanly Fashion, but was soon recalled by a Decree of the People.

UPON the Report that *Antipater* and *Craterus*, after *Alexander's* Death, were coming to *Athens*, *Demosthenes* with his Party took their Opportunity to escape privily out of the City; but at the Instance of *Demades* they were condemned. They dispersed themselves, flying some to one Place, some to another, and *Antipater* sent about his Soldiers into all Quarters to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called, *The Exile Hunter*. *Demosthenes* he heard had taken Sanctuary at the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*; and crossing over thither in some light Vessels, as soon as he had landed himself and the *Thracian* Spearmen that came with him, he endeavoured to persuade *Demosthenes* that he would accompany him to *Antipater*, as if he should meet with no hard Usage from him; but *Demosthenes* giving no Credit to his Promises, took the Poison which he had carried about with him in a Quill, and perceiving it had seized his Vitals, Go, says he,

he, and let thy Master know, that Demosthenes will not upon any Account be obliged to the Usurper of his Country ; and then expired.

AFTER his Death the People of Athens bestowed upon him such Honours as he had deserved ; they erected his Statue of Brass, they decreed that the eldest of his Family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, and on the Base of his Statue was engraven this famous Inscription :

*If with the Wisdom of thy Mind  
An equal Courage had been join'd,  
Greece ne'er had suffer'd so great Harms,  
Enslav'd by Macedonian Arms.*

DEMOSTHENES was of a cholerick, melancholy Temper ; the Heaviness which proceeded from his Melancholy, made him obstinate and resolute in whatever he had undertaken, and his Choler inspired him with Vigour and Activity to perform it. Tho' this Temper made him somewhat chagrine, yet at the same time it made him serious, which contributed to his Reputation : For it was from his Temper that the Severity of his Manners proceeded, which gained him the Opinion of a Person of great Integrity in the State, and inspired him with Courage to declare himself against *Philip* and *Alexander*, the Conquerors of the World.

HE had likewise naturally a great and noble Genius towards all the Sciences, and a Spirit that enabled him to surmount all the Difficulties he met with in his Endeavours after Eloquence. To his natural Vehemency he added such lively exterior Actions, that it was impossible to hear him without

#### 44 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

without feeling at the very Bottom of one's Soul the most sensible Effects. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that he had a very quick and brisk Eye, the Motions of which he took the Advantage of to express in his very Face whatever Action was requisite to his Subject, and to make himself look terrible whenever there was occasion. He gave his Voice such an Inflexion, and such a Tone to his Words, and such an Air to all his Actions, that he gained the Admiration of all that heard him. And this Vehemency of Action, joined with that of Expression, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever arrived to but *Demosthenes*, as *Longinus* assures us, and of which *Quintilian* has left us so fair a Description in his Institutions; where he says that *Demosthenes* made what Impressions he pleased upon those that heard him, by inspiring them with his own Sentiments and Passions, or by raising those they were already possessed of, by making them sensible of all his Ardour; and by stirring up in them Anger, Envy, or Indignation against those he was himself against; and that this was the principal Art in which his Eloquence consisted.

WHAT *Lucian* says of this Orator, by the Mouth of *Alexander's* Successor, contributes highly to his Glory. Had it not been for *Demosthenes*, says King *Antipater*, I had taken *Athens* with less Difficulty than I did *Thebes*; but he was every where to oppose my Designs, he could by no means be surprized, but was alone more formidable than Fleets and Armies. What would he have done had he had the Command of an Army, or the Administration of the publick Revenues, when we found it a Matter of such Difficulty

Difficulty to defend our selves against the Force and Power of his Words? King *Philip* reflecting how terrible this Man would have been had he had any warlike Command, when the Thunder of his Eloquence was so dreadful, says in the same Place, Let no one call the *Athenians* my Enemies, for I know none I have but *Demosthenes*; it is he alone that wages War with me, that opposes my Designs, and frustrates all my Enterprizes. So that this incomparable Person gave that Prince more Trouble, and more confounded his Affairs, than the *Pyreum* with all its Gallies, or the united Force of all *Greece*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* confesses, that the Eloquence of this Orator made the same Impression upon him, as the Mysteries of the Goddess *Cybele* did upon her Priests. But nothing seems more to raise the Glory of this great Man, than what *Quintilian* says of him, That it was the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* that made *Cicero* an Orator; and this is what *Tully* himself acknowledges when he says, that he made it his Endeavour to follow him, but could never attain to it. These Instances of Applause may be justly opposed to the Invectives of *Juvenal* and *Sidonius*, who have reproached *Demosthenes* with the Obscurity of his Birth, as if the Faculties of the Soul, and the natural Abilities of every Man, depended upon the Circumstances of his Nativity.

NOTHING can give us a better Idea of the great Advantage *Demosthenes* had over all other Men, in the Art of Pronunciation, and in a graceful Action, than the Testimony of his greatest Rival. For *Æschines* being cast in a Suit he was engaged in against *Ctesiphon*, whom *Demosthenes* had defended, for Shame and Grief had retired



## 46 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

retired to *Rhodes*, where some of his Friends importuning him to repeat to them the Oration he had made against *Ctesiphon*, he read it over to them; upon which they requested likewise of him to let them hear that which *Demosthenes* had made against him, which he likewise did, and read it to them very distinctly; whereupon they all began to admire it: *But what would you have done*, said he, *had you heard him speak it himself?*

To this animating Power of Action he had join'd the equal Force of great and noble Expressions, of lively Descriptions, of moving Passages, proper to affect and make strong Impressions upon the Mind. All his Discourses were full of expressive Figures, of frequent Apostrophe's, and reiterated Interrogatories, which gave Life and Vigour to, and animated all he said; as *Longinus* observes. So that we may truly affirm, never any other Orator raised his Anger, Hatred, Indignation, and indeed all his Passions, to that Height as *Demosthenes* did. And this doubtless was the Reason that made *Demetrius Phalereus* say, *That he harangued as if he had been inspired*; and *Eratosthenes* in *Plutarch*, *That he spoke like an Enthusiast*. For he was, as it were, in Raptures when he spoke, by the Heat of his Action, and the violent Transport of his Imagination.

WHAT shall I say of that sharp Style where-with he stirred up the Mind of the *Athenian* Republick against *Philip*, without any Regard to his Quality? of those bitter Invectives he made against *Medias* in order to make him odious and obnoxious to the publick Hatred? of those vehement Transports of Passion he was in against *Æschines* in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*? of all those frequent



frequent Invocations of the Gods? of those Apostrophe's to the Sun and Stars? of those Oaths, by Heaven and Earth, by Fountains and Rivers, according to the Maxims of his Religion? and of those strange forc'd Figures, and of all those violent Passions, and furious Commotions which we meet with in several Parts of his Discourses? To all which he adds a Tone more thundering than that of *Pericles*, whom he had proposed for his Imitation. And the Vehemency of Action, join'd with that of Expression, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever arrived to but *Demosthenes*.

HE had also a particular Talent in representing Things exactly with all their Circumstances, which is of no small Moment, in order to gain Credit with the People; to whom all Things seem to have a greater Degree of Probability, if they are but well circumstantiated. And he had so exquisite an Art in painting all Things according to Nature, that the meerest Fables, as he related them, would prevail more upon the Account of that simple plain Way he delivered them in, than the most substantial Reasons, than the most convincing Truths alledged by others. And these kind of Representations of Things taken according to Nature, were what he had wonderful Success in.

THE Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, says *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, was very artificial, he could turn and wind, and tread the most unbeaten Paths, to come to his proposed End with the greater Security. But tho' he had a most admirable Talent at displaying his Reasons to the best Advantage, and at establishing his Arguments upon firm  
and

## 48 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

and lasting Foundations, yet was he infinitely more expert at confuting those of his Adversaries by the Strength of his *Enthymemes*, which were so celebrated by all Antiquity. And he never appeared more powerful than when he was most powerfully attack'd; as we may observe in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, the Success of which rises as to its Value in proportion to the Greatness of the Merit of *Æschines* his Adversary. Never was any Affair transacted by two Orators with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application; for they were full four Years in preparing their Matter. This Animosity, which resounded throughout all *Greece*, brought together from all Parts a mighty Concourse of Auditors to assist at this Decision, and to see a Tryal of Skill between these two great Men, who were so celebrated for their Emulation.

BUT as this Vehemence was the principal Character of this Orator, so *Photius* assures us, that those Harangues he made to the People, had more Force and Energy in them, than those he made to the Senate; for whatever is great and noble in Eloquence, is so to Advantage when delivered before a great Assembly. It is true indeed, that the Credit he had gained in the State by the Integrity of his Intentions, authorized him to say any thing, and to speak to this People with Indignation and Resentment, who were of that Temper, that they must be pressed to their Duty. The Sharpness this Orator used, and the frequent Instances he gave them of his being angry and enraged at them, were not in the least displeasing to them, when they were once sensible that there was a Necessity of waking them out of that Lethargy into which their natural Negligence and Idleness

Idleness had led them. And *Demosthenes*, that he might more securely manage this Sort of People, who were truly proud and haughty, but withal timorous and cowardly, made a great Show of his Zeal for the Good of the State upon all Emergencies. They had accustomed themselves to bear his Invectives and Reproaches, by reason of the Fruit they often reaped from his good Counsels. Neither was he himself ignorant how requisite it was to appear sometimes angry and severe, that he might be useful to those that heard him.

THERE was nevertheless in this austere kind of Eloquence a great deal of solid Reason, of sound Judgment and good Sense, without any false Colours, without any thing that is weak or superficial; and his Reproaches, how severe soever, were always taken in good part, because he back'd them with such weighty Reasons and Arguments, as were irresistible. His Language was the common Dialect, having nothing in it that was far fetched, or exquisitely nice; yet it was very pure and highly agreeable to the Delicacy of Taste then prevalent at *Athens*. But he had an Art of giving his Language, as plain as it was, all the Life and Vigour that could be; so that he pleased by the Vehemence of his Action. It is observed, that the longer he spoke, the finer his Orations were. I should never end, were I to take in all that could be produced upon this Subject; what has been already said, will give us an Idea of the extraordinary Worth of this great Man, and a just Estimate of his Merit.

HE flourished in the Reign of *Philip of Macedon*. The Time of his Birth and of his Death is uncertain. It is supposed he was born about

## 50 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

the Year of *Rome* three hundred and seventy-three,  
and lived about threescore Years.

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### EDITIONS of DEMOSTHENES.

*Græcè, Scholiis Ulpiani nitidiss. Typis excusis.*

*apud Joh. Benenatum, Lutet. 1570.*

*Et Æschinis Opera. Gr. Lat. Ulpiani Scholiis & No-*  
*tis Hieron. Wolfii.* *Francof. 1604. Fol.*

*Iterum, verbatim recusus sed minori Characterè.*

*Genevæ. 1607. Fol.*

*Æschinis in Ctesiphontem & Demosthenis de Coronâ*  
*Orationes. Gr. Lat. Notis Ph. Foulkes & J. Freind.*

*Oxon. 1715. 8vo.*

*Demosthenis & Æschinis de falsa Legatione Orati-*  
*nes. Gr. & Lat. Notis Hen. Brooke.*

*Oxon 1721. 8vo.*

*Demosthenis Selectæ Orationes. Gr. & Lat. Notis*  
*Ric. Mounteney.* *1731. 8vo.*

*Iterum ad Verbum recusus. Lond. 1748. 8vo.*



### POLYBIUS.

THE taking of *Constantinople* by *Makomet*  
the Great fell in the latter Times of Pope  
*Nicholas* the Fifth, a Pope not only studious of  
good Letters, and particularly of History, but  
also a great Encourager of it in others. From  
the dreadful Overthrow of that City and final  
Subversion of the *Greek Empire* many learned  
Men escaped, and brought over with them, into  
*Italy,*



*Italy*, that Treasure of ancient Authors, which, by their Unhappiness we now possess ; and among the rest some of the remaining Fragments of *Polybius*. The Body of his History, as he left it finished, consisted of forty Books, of which the eighth Part is only remaining to us entire. As for his Negotiations when he was sent Embassador, either from his own Countrymen the Commonwealth of the *Achaians*, or afterwards was employed by the *Romans* on their Business with other Nations, we are obliged to *Constantine* the Great for their Preservation ; for that Emperor was so much in love with the dextrous Management and Wisdom of this *Grecian*, that he caused them all to be faithfully transcribed, and made frequent use of them in his own Dispatches and Affairs with foreign Princes, as his best Guides, in his Concernments with them.

NONE that converse with Books can be ignorant that *Polybius* was of *Megalopolis*, a City in *Arcadia*. He began to flourish in the times of *Ptolemy Philometer*, and was born about the fourth Year of the Hundred and forty-third *Olympiad*. He was the Son of *Lycortus*, General of the *Achaians*, which was the most renowned Republick then in *Greece*. That great State sent them, both Father and Son, in the Quality of Embassadors to the *Egyptian* King ; and the Son had afterwards the same Honour when he was deputed to go to the *Roman* Consul, who made war upon King *Perseus* in *Thessaly*. He was born noble, and as he received at his Birth great Gifts from Nature which favoured his Design of writing History, so that Chance of Fortune which brought him to *Rome* was of no small Advantage to him ; since he was indebted to it



## 52 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

not only for the best Part of his Learning, but for the important Friendship he contracted with *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, which contributed much to the Celebration of his History to Posterity.

BUT the Pains he took in the Acquisition of all that could put him into a Capacity of writing well and labouring for Eternity, seems worthy to be considered. He thought he could make no exact Description, nor be confident of the Authority of his Memorials from whatsoever Place he should have them, if he had not rectified them by his own Sight; viewing himself the Countries he intended to treat of. He resolved therefore to be well acquainted with many Places, as well of *Europe*, as *Asia* and *Africa*, whither he went purposely to be assured of what he should write of them. And he used *Scipio's* Authority to procure Vessels fit to sail upon the *Atlantic Ocean*, judging that what he should there observe would prove useful to his Design. It is certain that he passed the *Alps*, and one Part of *Gaul*, to represent truly *Hannibal's* Passage into *Italy*; and fearing to omit the least Circumstance of the same *Scipio's* Actions, he travelled all over *Spain*, and stopt particularly at *New Carthage*, that he might carefully study the Situation of it.

*POLYBIUS*, tho' he principally intended the History of the *Romans*, and the Establishment of their Empire over the greatest Part of the World which was then known, yet he had in his eye the general History of the Times, in which he lived, not forgetting either the Wars of his own Country with their Neighbours of *Ætolia*, or the concurrent Affairs of *Macedonia*, and the Provinces of *Greece*, (which is properly  
so

so called) nor the Monarchies of *Asia* and *Egypt*, nor the Republick of the *Carthaginians*, with the several Traverses of their Fortunes, either in relation to the *Romans*, or independant to the Wars which they waged with them, besides what happened in *Spain* and *Sicily*, and other *European* Countries. The Time which is taken up in this History consists of fifty-three Years, and the greatest Part of it is employed in the Description of those Events of which he was an Eye-witness, or bore a considerable Part in the Conduct of them. He was fully qualified to execute the great Design he engaged in; for tho' possibly he might yield to one or two of the *Greek* Historians in the Praise of Eloquence, yet in Wisdom and all other Accomplishments belonging to a perfect Historian, he was at least equal to any other Writer *Greek* or *Roman*, and perhaps excelled them all. He comes recommended by the Nobility of his Birth, by his Institution in Arts and Sciences, by his Knowledge in natural and moral Philosophy, and particularly the Politicks; by being conversant both in the Arts of Peace and War; by his Education under his Father *Lycortus*, who voluntarily deposed himself from his Sovereignty of *Megalopolis* to become a principal Member of the *Achaian* Commonwealth, which then flourished under the Management of *Aratus*; by his Friendship with *Scipio Africanus*, who subdued *Carthage*, to whom he was both a Companion and a Counsellor; and by the Goodwill, Esteem and Intimacy which he had with several Princes of *Asia*, *Greece* and *Egypt*, during his Life; and after his Decease, by deserving the Applause and Approbation of all succeeding Ages.

## 54 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

WE may form a Judgment of the Worth and Greatness of this Writer by the Number of Statues erected to his Honour, by the *Greeks* at *Palantium*, *Mantinæa*, *Tegæa*, *Megalopolis* and other Cities of *Arcadia*; the Inscription of one of which testifies, says *Pausanias*, that he travelled over all Seas and Lands, was a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, and reconciled them, being then incensed against the *Grecians*; and another Inscription is thus, *If Greece had at first pursued the Counsel of Polybius, it had not offended; but being now miserably afflicted, he is her only Comfort and Support.* He is mentioned with great Honour by *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Josephus* and *Plutarch*; and in what Rank of Writers they are placed, none of the Learned need to be informed. He is copy'd in whole Books together by *Livy*, commonly esteemed the Prince of the *Roman History*, and translated word for word; tho' the *Latin* Historian is not to be excused for giving him only the dry Commendation of a Writer not to be despised, without confessing to whom he had been so much obliged. *Marcus Brutus*, who preferred the Freedom of his Country to the Obligations which he had to *Julius Cæsar*, so prized *Polybius*, that he made a Compendium of his Works, and read him not only for his Instruction, but for the Diversion of his Grief, when his noble Enterprize for the Restoration of the Commonwealth had not found the Success which it deserved. And this is not the least Commendation of this Historian, that he who was not wholly satisfied with the Eloquence of *Tully*, should epitomize *Polybius* with his own Hand. It was on the Consideration of *Brutus*, and the Veneration which he paid him, that

*Constantine*

*Constantine* the Great took so great a Pleasure in reading him, and collecting the several Treaties of his Embassies; of which, tho' many are now lost, yet those which remain are a sufficient Testimony of his great Abilities. He learned the *Roman* Tongue, and attained to that Knowledge of their Laws, their Rights, their Customs and Antiquities, that few of their own Citizens understood them better; having gained Permission from the Senate to search the Capitol, he made himself familiar with their Records, and afterwards translated them into his Mother-Tongue: So that he taught the Noblemen of *Rome* their own municipal Laws, and was accounted more skilful in them than *Fabius Pictor*, a Man of the Senatorian Order, who wrote the Transactions of the *Punick* Wars.

*P O L Y B I U S* was without all question a very great Man; he was noble, and of the first Rank of his Country, a Soldier, a Statesman, and a Philosopher; and withal of an excellent Understanding; polished and cultivated by Business and eminent Trusts, and temper'd and ballasted by his own and his Country's Afflictions. So that it may be said, no Man ever engaged in a Work of this Sort better furnished with Requisites; and he seems to fill the Chair, when he treats distinctly on any of the above-named Subjects; but when he talks of War, which is the favourite Subject and Darling of History, how like a General and perfect Master in that Trade does he acquit himself? How exact and painful is he in his Descriptions of Battles by Land and Sea, descending to every Particular that may afford Light to his Reader? How finely, fruitfully, justly and morally, does he instruct and



reason on Events of Councils, Battles, and all kind of Transactions? How does *Hannibal's* Craft and Wisdom, and *Flaminius's* Rashness and Folly, appear in his Account of the Battle of *Thrasymene*; insomuch that from Readers we become Spectators of all those Exploits? How faithful is he to the Character of the *Carthaginians*, in their Naval Knowledge and Strength? And with what Frankness, Assurance and Impartiality, does he shew the *Romans* Ignorance, and reprove their Rashness, when he compares those two People on the Subject of their martial Affairs and Adventures? All which we read with Pleasure, and approve with Ease. So that, in a Word, he will be found throughout to preserve his Character of a brave, able and impartial Writer. The Subject of his History were all the most considerable Actions in the World, from the Beginning of the second *Punick War* to the End of that which terminated the Differences of the *Romans* with the *Macedonian Kings*, by the utter Ruin of their Monarchy.

*LA MOTHE* takes occasion to speak of one *Sebastian Maccius*, who treating of History, and declaiming against Digressions, condemns those of *Sallust* and *Polybius*; indecently calling them base-conditioned Fellows, and Men sprung out of the Dregs of the People; and the more to defame the latter, he particularly adds, that he was a meer Pedant given to *Scipio*, to serve him in the quality of a Præceptor; but this Imputation is unlearned and ridiculous, for it is utterly improbable that a Person so exercised in Affairs of State, and accustomed to great Employments, as *Polybius* was, should be known to *Scipio*, and accompany him in all his military Expeditions,



peditions, for no other Purpose than to instruct him in the Parts of Speech, and teach him the Rudiments of Grammar. There might be more Reason perhaps to charge him, as some have done, with Impiety and Want of Religion in his Devotion to the Deity; for though he speaks in many Places very advantageously of the Worship of the Gods, as when he attributes all the Glory of *Arcadia*, his Country, to their great Care in serving the Altars, and elsewhere professes that he abhors the Licentiousness of War that causes the Destruction of Temples, which he makes to be a most capital Crime; yet he declares so formally in another Place against the Divinity, and all those who in his Time held the Opinion of the Pains of Hell, that it appears evidently he believed nothing of the Matter. And about the End of the sixth Book he observes that Superstition, which was accounted a Vice by all other Nations, passed for a Virtue among the *Romans*. If one could, says he, compose a Republick only of wise and virtuous Men, all those fabulous Opinions of Gods and Hell would be altogether superfluous. But since there is no State where the People are not (as we see them) subject to Irregularities and evil Actions; one must, to bridle them, make use of those imaginary Fears, and the panick Terrors of the other World that our Religion imprints, and which the Ancients have so prudently introduced to this End, that they cannot be contradicted now by any but rash Persons, or those who are not well in their Wits. Let such as defend *Polybius* in every thing (as *Casaubon* has done) say what they please in his favour, they can never, after so formal a Declaration, make

## 58 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

him pass for a Person very zealous in the Religion of his Time.

BESIDES the forty Books of his Universal History, it is credible by one of the Letters which *Cicero* writ to *Lucceius*, that he made a particular Treatise of the War of *Numantia*. His great Age furnished him with Convenience to write much; since we understand from *Lucian*, that he passed the great climacterical Year, and died not till he was eighty-two Years old. He confesses himself, that the Advice of *Lelius*, which he often required in their ordinary Conferences, and the Memorials which that great Person furnished him withal, were very advantageous to him.

BUT as to his Manner of writing, the Learned have not agreed to bestow upon him the Praise of Eloquence. *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, the most strict and austere Critick among them, calls him impolite, and reproaches him with Negligence both in the Choice of Words and the Structure or Composition of his Periods. His Excellency nevertheless is such in all other Things, that one would suppose he neglected the Nicety of Words as of little Importance, to confine himself entirely to Things more serious and significant. He certainly deserved the great Elogies given him by learned Men. *Polybius*, says *Bodin*, is not only every where equal and like himself, but also wise and grave, sparing in his Commendations, sharp and severe in his Reprehensions, and like a prudent Lawgiver and a good Commander, he disputes many Things concerning the military and civil Discipline, and the Duty of an Historian. *Lipsius* is more large in his Commendation. *Polybius*, in Judgment  
and

and Prudence, is not unlike *Thucydides* ; but in his Care and Style more loose and free ; he flies out, breaks off, and dilates his Discourse ; and in many Places does not so much relate as professedly teach ; but then his Advices are every where right and salutary, and I should therefore the rather commend him to Princes, because there is no need of an anxious Enquiry into his Thoughts, but he himself opens and reveals his Sense. *Polybius*, says *Rapin*, is more grave than *Thucydides* ; he does not so often introduce *Scipio* speaking, altho' he had a kind of right to do it ; having all along waited upon him in his Wars. He has frequent Digressions upon Politicks, the Art of War, and the Laws of History, which do not seem necessary. He is a greater Libertine than *Xenophon*, and treats the Opinions the People of those Days had of their Gods and Hell as Fables. But the most learned *Casaubon*, in his Preface to *Polybius*, has most clearly and at large demonstrated the Excellence of this *Greek* Writer, and wherein he is to be preferred before the other Historians.

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EDITIONS of *POLYBIUS*.

*Gr. & Lat. Versione & Commentario* H. Casauboni.  
Paris. 1609. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. Notis* Casauboni, Ursini & Valesii, ac  
Jac. Gronovii, 3 vol. Amst. 1670. 8vo.



## DIODORUS SICULUS.

**D**IODORUS SICULUS was a Native of *Agyrium*, a City in *Sicily*, and flourished in the Time of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*. He wrote at *Rome* his excellent Work, entitled *Bibliotheca Historica*, after having travelled through the greatest Part of *Asia* and *Europe*, with incredible Hazards and Fatigue, to inform himself and collect Materials. He spent thirty Years in composing it, and collected it into forty Books, which took in the Substance of what the most renowned Historians had written before him; insomuch, that if this Work were still compleat, we could not want a competent Knowledge of the first and remotest Ages.

BUT, to the great Grief of learned Men, of the forty Books only fifteen are now extant. The first five are entire, and give us an Account of the fabulous Times, and explain the Antiquities and Transactions of the *Egyptians*, *Affyrians*, *Persians*, *Lybians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations, before the *Trojan War*. The five next Books are wanting. The eleventh Book begins at *Xerxes's Expedition into Greece*: From whence, to the End of the twentieth Book, which brings the History down to the Year of the World three thousand six hundred and fifty, the Work is entire; but the latter twenty Books are quite lost.



lost. *Henry Stephens* asserts, from a Letter communicated to him by Mr. *Lazaro Baif*, that all the Works of *Diodorus* are found entire, in some Corner of *Sicily*. I confess, says *La Mothe*, upon this Occasion I would willingly go almost to the End of the World, if I thought to find there so great a Treasure. And I shall envy those that will come after us this important Discovery, if it shall be made when we shall be no more; and that instead of fifteen Books only, which we now enjoy, they shall possess the whole forty.

THE Contents of the whole Work are thus explained by the Author. Our six first Books, (the last of which is lost) says he, comprehend all that happened before the War of *Troy*, together with many fabulous Matters here and there interspersed. Of these, the three former relate the Antiquity of the *Barbarians*; and the three latter contain those of the *Greeks*. The eleven next following, include all that happened remarkable in the World from the Destruction of *Troy* to the Death of *Alexander* the Great. Lastly, the other twenty-three extend to the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar* over the *Gauls*, when he made the *British* Ocean the Northern Bounds of the *Roman* Empire.

THIS Writer has undergone various Characters from the Learned. *Pliny* asserts, that *Diodorus* was the first of the *Greeks* who spoke seriously, and avoided writing of Trifles, *Primus apud Græcos desit nugari* *Diodorus*. Bishop *Montague*, in his Preface to his *Apparatus*, gives this *Sicilian* the Reputation of an excellent Author, who, with great Fidelity, immense Labour, and uncommon Diligence and Ingenuity, has collected an Historical Library, in which he has represented



## 62 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

represented his own and the Studies of other Men, being the great Reporter of human Actions. He is censured notwithstanding by *Bodinus*, who condemns the Style of this Historian; and *Ludovicus Vives* with great Acrimony arraigns the Body of his History, and the Narration of which it is composed. He blames him particularly for relating strange and incredible Computations of Time, for inserting that the *Egyptians* had preserved their publick Records for an hundred thousand Years; that the *Chaldeans* had made Observations of the heavenly Bodies, for the Space of four hundred seventy and two thousand Years before *Alexander's* Conquests in *Asia*; that the *Egyptians* reckoned some ten and others three and twenty thousand Years from *Isis* and *Osiris*, to the same *Alexander*; and that their first Kings, who were Gods, did each of them reign no less than twelve hundred Years.

BUT *La Mothe*, with great Justice, vindicates the Credit of this Writer; he says, that *Diodorus* inserted the *Egyptian Ephemerides*, and the astronomical Calculations of the *Chaldeans*, only to shew what was the common Belief of those People; not insisting that he himself was of that Opinion. He is so far from it, that he says expressly in his second Book, that he cannot possibly acquiesce to what the College of *Chaldeans* had determined of the long Space of Time which preceded the Victories of *Alexander*. I am so far, says the *French Critick* again, from condemning the Fables and excellent Mythology in the first five Books of *Diodorus*, that, in my Opinion, we have nothing more precious in all that remains of Antiquity; for besides that Fables may be seriously told, and that *Plato's Timæus*,  
with

with many other Works of great Consequence, would be useless upon this Supposition, yet these are of that Use to give us a Notion of the whole Theology of the Idolaters. And if it were lawful to give a holy Name to a profane Thing, I might call the five fore-mentioned Books the Bible of Paganism; since they teach us at the first View what the *Gentiles* believed of Eternity, and of the Creation of the World. So that they give us so perfect an Idea of the Theogony of the *Egyptians*, which was afterwards followed by the *Greeks*, that without them we should have been Strangers to these useful Discoveries, and these most curious Relations would have been unknown to us.

THE Time of those two Emperors, *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, is allowed to have been the purest Age of the *Latin* Tongue, but not so of the *Greek*; in their Reigns the *Athenian* Eloquence was already transferred to *Rome*. It is no wonder then, that *Diodorus* is not equal in this respect to *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* or *Xenophon*, being a *Sicilian* only, and under the Disadvantage of writing at such a Season. *Photius* nevertheless does not forbear to praise his Style, as being very clear, unaffected, and proper for his Subject, which is History. It is, says he, neither too *Attick*, nor too full of old Words; his Manner of Writing observes a just Mediocrity between the most sublime Style, and the other which the School calls humble and creeping, upon the account of its Lowness, which is carefully avoided by this Historian.

*DIODORUS* is commended by *Justin Martyr*, as the most renowned and esteemed of  
all

## 64 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

all the *Greek* Historians, and by his Writings takes occasion to prove the Excellence and Antiquity of *Moses* the great Lawgiver of the *Hebrews*; and when he would insinuate that *Homer* had learned in *Egypt* the most beautiful Passages with which he adorned his Poësie, he uses for it the Authority of *Diodorus*, whom he does not name without Praise. *Eusebius* goes beyond *Justin Martyr*, both in Titles of Honour and Citations of Passages drawn from this Historian, with which he fills all the Books of his Evangelical Preparation. And when he treats of the Beginning of the World, and of what the Ancients believed of the Sun and Moon, and of the Custom which the *Carthaginians* had to sacrifice Men, and of infinite other Subjects which fall into his principal Design, he always alledges *Diodorus*; but he does it chiefly when he examines the Theology of the *Egyptians* in his second Book, where he very much extols the Fame of him; he calls him a most illustrious Writer, most exact in his Narrations, and one in high Esteem among the Learned for his profound Doctrine; and he adds, that there is no *Grecian* who is not desirous to read him and allow him the Preference above other Writers in the same Language. But when he insists in his tenth Book, that *Greece* had received from the Hands of those it esteemed barbarous, and particularly from the *Jews*, all the Sciences and Learning for which it had so great a Value; it is in that he attributes to him the greatest Honour: For after he had used the Testimonies of *Clement*, *Porphyry*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Josephus*, and other Authors, he finishes his

Proof

# DIODORUS SICULUS. 65

Proof with a Quotation out of the first Book of that incomparable History, *to the end*, says he, *that the Authority of Diodorus may be as a Seal to all my Demonstration.*

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## EDITIONS of DIODORUS SICULUS.

*Græcè Typis nitidiss.* Hen. Stephani, *ejusque Notis.*  
Paris. 1559. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. Notis* H. Stephani & Laur. Rhodomanni.  
Hanovix. 1604. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. Notis & Emendationibus Variorum, curâ*  
Petri Wesseling, 2 vol. Amst. 1743. Fol.



DIONY-





## DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

**I**F this Writer had not said of himself in the Beginning of his History, that he lived in the Reign of *Augustus*, we might be well assured of it from *Strabo*; who, speaking of the City of *Halicarnassus*, observes that it gave the World two illustrious Persons, *Herodotus*, and in our Time, says he, *Dionysius* the Historian.

AMONG many Writers who bore the Name of *Dionysius*, *Suidas* makes mention of another besides him we speak of, who was of *Halicarnassus* also, and of his Posterity. He appeared under the Emperor *Adrian*, with the Surname of *Musæus*; because, tho' he was an Orator, his principal Talent lay in Musick; of which he composed many Books. As for our Historian, he came to *Rome* a short Time after *Augustus* had happily finished the Civil Wars, and continued there two and twenty Years: He employed his Time in learning the *Latin* Tongue, and collecting Materials for the Design he had laid of writing his History. For this purpose he consulted all Books, all the Commentaries and Annals that had been written by *Romans* of Learning and Credit, about the Concerns of the State, Old *Cato*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Valerius Antias*, *Licinius Macer*, and some others. He ac-  
knowledges

knowledges that the Conversation he had with the learned Men of that Imperial City, and his frequent Conference with the greatest Genius's of the Age, were of no less Service to him than all his own Diligence and Application.

HIS History treats of the *Roman* Antiquities, which he comprised in twenty Books, whereof there remain no more than the first eleven to this Age, which conclude with the Time when the Consuls resumed the chief Authority in the Republick, after the Government of the *Decemviri*, which happened three hundred and twelve Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. The whole Work comprehended much more; for it passed from the taking of *Troy* over the fabulous and historical Time, to the Beginning of the first *Punick* War; ending where *Polybius* begins his History. In order to a clear Notice of the *Roman* People, he has begun his Work with the *Aborigines*, the first Inhabitants of *Italy*. His Authority is vindicated by *Scaliger*, who asserts, that we have no Author remaining that has observed so exact Order in Chronology; and tho' he may be censured for relating too credulously some improbable Stories, yet upon the whole he is esteemed as an exact and diligent Writer, and more sincere than *Livy*. He is censured as a very prolix Orator, his History and Antiquities have an universal Applause, and the Loss of what is wanting is exceedingly lamented.

THE Style of this Writer (as *Photius* considers it) is new and uncommon, but attended with a Simplicity which renders it delightful; and he adds, that the Elegancy of his Phrase corrects and softens the Roughness that is sometimes found in his Expression. He commends him exceedingly

ceedingly for using many Digressions, which retain and recreate the Mind of the Reader, when the Evenness of an historical Narration begins to be wearisome and tedious. The Excellencies of this Writer are more particularly distinguished by *Bodinus*; *Dionysius*, says he, besides the Esteem he merits by his familiar Style and pure *Attick Greek*, has also written the *Roman Antiquities* from the Foundation of the City, with so great a Diligence, that he seems to excel all other *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; for what the *Latins* neglected as common and well known, their Sacrifices, Plays, Triumphs, Ensigns of Magistrates and all the Order of the *Roman* publick Government, their Taxes or Revenues, their *Auspicia* or Divinations, their great Assemblies and their difficult Division of the People into Tribes and Classes; lastly, the Authority of the Senate, the Commands of the *Plebes* or lower Orders, the Authority of the Magistrates and the Power of the People he only seems to have accurately delivered; and for the better understanding of these, he compares them with the *Grecian* Laws and Rites, as when he fetches the Laws of Retainers, Vassalage or Protection, which *Romulus* instituted, and derives them from the Customs of the *Athenians* and *Thessalians*. The Laws, he goes on, of *Romulus*, and *Numa*, and *Servius*, had, together with the Origin of the People of *Rome*, perished totally, if this Author had not preserved them. It is a great Glory to him to have exceeded all the *Roman* Writers in Things wherein they ought to have had so great Advantage over him.

CERTAINLY, says *La Mothe*, it is not to be imagined, that a Man of that Reputation, which  
*Dionysius*

*Dionysius* had acquired in Learning, could produce any thing that was not very polite and worthy of his Name. We have his *Compositions of Rhetorick*, and the most subtle Criticks place him in the first Rank of those who delighted in that Sort of Study; and tho' there were no more to be said of him than the Request that was made him by *Pompey* the Great, to give him his Judgment on the first *Greek* Historians, and especially on *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*; it shews sufficiently the Esteem wherein he lived in his Time, and of what Authority he was in *Rome*, when that great General chose him out of many others to inform him upon this Subject. His Characters of ancient Writers that were before him, are too exact and rigorous, and his Laws of Eloquence too severe; for according to the Strictness of his Maxims, there never was a perfect Historian. Among many Instances of his Spleen in Criticism he took upon him to blame the Style of *Plato*. This was one of the Occasions of a Letter which *Pompey* writ to him in *Plato's* Defence; and we see by *Dionysius* his Answer, that altho' to pacify *Pompey*, he professes himself an Admirer of *Plato*, yet he still persists to give the Preference to *Demosthenes*.

BUT his Confidence and Credulity in relating Stories wholly improbable deserve to be condemn'd. What can be thought of his making a Razor cut a Whetstone, by the Command of *Navius Actius* the Augur? His representing *Castor* and *Pollux* fighting for the *Romans* against the *Latins*? The Rivers *Vulturius* and *Glanis* running back to their Source, in favour of the Inhabitants of *Cumæ*? He says, that a Statue of the Goddess *Fortune* pronounced these Words  
twice,



## 70 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

twice, *Ritè me Matronæ dedicastis*. But there is scarce a more strange Relation in the *Roman History*, than the Action of *Clælia*, as he represents it. He says that this *Roman Virgin*, who was given in Hostage with many others to *Porfenna*, King of the *Hetruscians*, returned with all her Companions from the *Tuscan Camp* to the City of *Rome*, swimming over the River *Tiber*, wherein they had leave to bathe; as if it were possible that fearful Maidens, who, it may be supposed had not learned to swim, durst but look upon such a River with Design to pass it, and cast themselves desperately into it, when the Peace was almost concluded. For tho' *Plutarch* describes the Place in the Life of *Publicola*, so very agreeable and convenient to bathe in, yet he confesses that the River was very rapid and deep; *Livy* writes with no more likelihood when he tells the same Story. *Plutarch* does indeed in some measure question the Truth of it. The Account of *Valerius Maximus* is more agreeable, that this young Lady under the Favour of a dark Night escap'd from the Enemies Camp, mounted upon a Horse which bore her among her Friends on the other Side. The Equestrian Statue, erected to her Honour by the *Romans*, supports this Opinion; but when Writers will sacrifice what is plain and probable to something marvellous and extraordinary, we cannot be surpris'd at such Relations.

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### EDITIONS of *DION. HALICAR.*

*Græcè, nitidiss. Typis.*

*apud Rob. Stephanum, Lutetiæ. 1546. Fol.*

*Gr,*

Gr. & Lat. Notis Frid. Sylburgii,

Francof. 1586. Fol.

*Denuo recusatus ad Verbum.*

Lipsiæ, 1696. Fol.

Gr. & Lat. Notis Var. & Joh. Hudsoni. 2 vol.

Oxon. 1704. Fol.



## ARRIAN.

UNDER that learned Emperor *Adrian* flourished *Arrian* of *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*, the celebrated Scholar of *Epietetus*, (*Dio* calls him *Flavius Arrianus Nicomediensis*) a Philosopher and Historian; and, if some may be credited, an eminent Civilian. *Suidas* acquaints us from *Heliconius*, that he attained even to the Consular Dignity, and that for the Sweetness of his Style, he was termed another *Xenophon*. *Photius* agrees with him, and adds, that he was Priest to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. *Lucian* in his *Pseudomantes* assures us, that *Arrian* the Scholar of *Epietetus*, a Man of the first Rank in *Rome*, employ'd his whole Life in the Study of polite Literature, for which he was so particularly famous, says *Dio*, that he was complimented with his Freedom both of *Rome* and *Athens*. *Dio* informs us, that he was advanced to be Præfect of *Cappadocia*, and that he reduced the *Alauni* and *Massagetæ*. *Pliny* the Younger, who was then Proconsul of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, address'd seven of his Epistles to him, and this is the more probable, because *Arrian* was not only a *Bithynian*, but

but wrote the *Bithynian* and *Alaunian* History, an Abridgment of the first of which may be seen in *Photius*, and a Fragment of the last in the second Volume of *Blancard's* Edition of his Works.

HE likewise wrote the *Parthian* History in seventeen Books, an Extract whereof *Photius* has preserved. We have four Books of his Dissertations on *Epietetus*; as also a Parapulus, or Lustration of the Coasts of the *Euxine* and Red Seas, inscribed to the Emperor *Adrian*, if that Inscription be genuine; for *Salmasius* imagines these to have been the Works of another of the same Name, who flourished from the time of *Nero* to *Vespasian*. He wrote the Life of *Dio* the *Syracusan*; an Account of *Timoleon's* Acts in *Sicily*; a Book of Tactics, and a Treatise on Hunting, as a Supplement to *Xenophon's* Work upon the same Subject. His *Indian* History we have complete, notwithstanding the Assertion of the learned *Stuchius* to the contrary.

MR. *BOILEAU*, in the Life of *Epietetus*, gives *Arrian* this extraordinary Character: Of all the Scholars of *Epietetus*, says he, *Arrian* is the only one whose Name has been transmitted with Reputation to Posterity; but he is such a one as sufficiently demonstrates the Excellency of his Master, tho' we should suppose that he alone had been of his forming. For this is the very Person who was afterwards advanced to be Præceptor to *Antonine*, surnamed the *Pious*, because, like that Philosopher, he committed to writing the Dictates deliver'd by his Master in his Life-time, and publish'd them in one Volume, under the Name of *Epietetus* his Discourses, or Dissertations, which at present we have  
in

in four Books. After this he composed a little Treatise called his *Enchiridion*, which is a short Compendium of all *Epietetus's* Philosophical Principles, and hath ever been acknowledged for one of the most valuable and beautiful Pieces of ancient Morality. He likewise writ a large Book of the Life and Death of *Epietetus*; which is now unfortunately lost. And to shew how much he was of Opinion this Writer had obliged Mankind, he assures us, that *Epietetus* left nothing of his own Composition behind him, and if *Arrian* had not transmitted to Mankind the Maxims of his Master, we have some Reason to doubt whether the very Name of *Epietetus* had not been lost to the World. It is not easy to know, whether his *History* was writ before his *Enchiridion*, and those other Discourses of *Epietetus*, which *Simplicius* in his Commentaries assures us to be composed by him; for tho' it might not be thought, according to the ordinary and natural Course of Study, he should apply himself to Philosophical Contemplations in the youthful Part of his Life, yet it appears in the Preface of those Discourses, that he writ them as they were spoken by his Master, collected from his Mouth whilst he was yet the Scholar of that great Philosopher; and he complains that they were published without his Privy, which is a certain Evidence of their being written in his younger Age. *Photius* says, they were formerly in twelve Books, besides certain Philosophical Dissertations by him mentioned which are lost to this Age.

As for his Historical Compositions, tho' we have them not all intire, by what remains of them we may discern enough to oblige us to



## 74 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

value his Merit; and his seven Books of the Conquest of *Alexander* the Great, and eight which treat particularly of *India*, may suffice to give him a Rank and Name among the chiefest Historians. Besides these, he wrote in ten Books the History of those Actions which happened amongst *Alexander's* Captains after his Death, for they could not agree about the dividing their Conquests; but of those there remains nothing at this Day but an Abridgment of them, which *Photius* gives us in his *Bibliotheca*.

THIS Author gives us to understand, that he wrote the History of *Alexander* the Great by Divine Inspiration, and that he did it under the Title of 'Αραβίας Ἀλεξάνδρῃ, and with the same Number of Books that *Xenophon* chose to describe the Conquests of *Cyrus*; and some observe, that he so affected to follow that Author, that he has perfectly imitated him in his Style, and in many other respects; and therefore he is distinguish'd by the Name of the *Young Xenophon*. He declares in his Preface, that the Relations of the Facts he has delivered, are founded upon the Faith of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemæus Lagus*, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his Enterprizes, and his Accounts are the more credible, for that, besides the Royal Quality of the latter, they did neither of them publish their Writings till after *Alexander's* Death, without any other Obligation, than a real Desire of discovering the Truth of his Actions. And yet our Author professes in his Description of the Death of *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, that it was diversly reported by them, though they were both near the Person of *Alexander*, when the Process was made against that unfortunate Person.

Person. *Aristobulus* says, he was led in Chains after the Army, till he died of a Sickness; the other affirms, that, after having been exposed to Torture, he was strangled for being unhappily involved in the Conspiracy of *Hermolaus*; so difficult it is to come at the Truth of Actions performed, and there is nothing more certain, than that one and the same Fact is many times variously related by those who saw it, because of the divers Respects and Interests in which the Relators are severally engaged.

*PHOTIUS* commends *Arrian* as equal to the best Historians; his Narration is always agreeable, because it is both short and intelligible, and he never discomposes his Readers with tedious Digressions, and such Parentheses as may obscure the Sense of his Sentences. And one cannot easily find in all his History, any one such miraculous Event, as might render it suspected, if you will except some Predictions of *Aristander*, and the Story of two *New Springs*, which appeared near the River of *Oxus*, as soon as *Alexander* was there encamped.

THE Pattern which *Arrian* proposed to imitate, permits him not to elevate his Style to a sublime Degree of Oratory, because the Eloquence of *Xenophon* is not of that Order; but his Phrase is mingled with such excellent Figures, that by retaining all the Clearness of him that he imitates, his Style has nothing in it either too flatly low, or too highly towering. He occasionally uses sometimes oblique Orations, and sometimes direct ones. The Oration of *Callisthenes* against *Anaxarchus*, who would have *Alexander* to be adored, is one of the most considerable of those that are direct; and there are two others not infe-

## 76 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

riour to it of the same Prince to his Soldiers, who began to mutiny, once in the *Indies*, and the other Time upon the Banks of the *Tigris*. Those which were made before the Battle at the Streights of *Amanus*, and at the Plain of *Arbela*, or *Gaugamela*, are oblique, and much more concise than the Occasion required. *Photius* makes a very favourable Judgment, of the History of *Arrian*, and says, that whosoever shall compare it with the most ancient of those which are so much esteemed, it will be found there are many things in them which by no means come up to the Value of the other. He was a Writer of so great Integrity, that by way of Eminence and Distinction, he was called *The Lover of Truth*.

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### EDITIONS of *ARRIAN*.

*De Expeditione Alexandri Magni*, Lib. 7. *Ejusdem Indica*. Gr. Lat. notis Nic. Blancardi.

Amst. 1668. 8vo.

*Tactica*, *Periplus Maris Euxini* & *Comment. in Epictetum*. Gr. Lat. Notis Nic. Blancardi.

Amst. 1683. 8vo.

*De Expedit. Alexandri M.* Lib. 7. & *Indica*, Gr. Lat. Notis Var. & Jac. Gronovii. L. Bat. 1704. Fol.

*Dissertationes in Epictetum*. Gr. Lat. Notis & *Emendat.* Joh. Upton. 2 vol. Lond. 1741. 4to.

*APP I A*



## A P P I A N U S.

**T**HIS Historian is the more considerable among those who have laboured in the *Roman* History, in that, besides the Commendation which *Photius* gives him, to have truly as possible delivered his Matter, he alone has particularly described the Actions, according to the Provinces where the Scene of them lay, and the different Regions wherein they were transacted, This Method is certainly very useful and regular, to express distinctly the several Exploits, and separately from each other, and at one View present what passes in every Country; no way of Writing can be more instructive than this, and apter in that respect to please and satisfy the Mind of the Reader; so that the History of *Appian*, as *Suidas* relates, was often by an Excellency of Title called the *Basilic* or *Royal* History.

HE descended from one of the chief Families of *Alexandria*, and came to *Rome* in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*; he there practised the Law for some time, and pleaded with that Force and Eloquence, that he was soon advanced to be one of the *Procuratores Cæsaris*, and afterwards carried to greater Dignities in the Empire under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. He was



## 78 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

preferred, as *Photius* relates to the Administration of a Province; *Sigonius* and some others call him *Sophista Alexandrinus*, and make him an *Egyptian*.

THE History of *Arrian* was divided into three Volumes, which, as the same *Photius* observes, contained four and twenty Books. It began at the Taking and Destruction of *Troy*, and the Fortune of *Æneas*, and extended beyond the Reign of *Augustus*, making Excursions sometimes even to the Times of *Trajan*. As to his Style, the same *Photius* observes, that as his Manner of Writing was plain and easy, so he had nothing in it that was soaring high or superfluous, and he gives him the Privilege of being not only very faithful, but one of those who has given the greatest Testimony of his Knowledge in the Art of War, and all kind of military Discipline. To read the Description of his Battles, would make one fancy himself in the middle of them; and he is so happy in his Orations, that he manages and moves the Affections which way he pleases, whether it be to revive the Courage of the drooping Soldiers; or repress the extravagant Transports of those that are too violent. Of the many Works which he composed, there remains to this Time but the least Part, which describe the *Punick*, *Syrian*, and *Parthian* Wars; those against *Mithridates*, against the *Spaniards*, against *Hannibal*, and five Books of those of the Civil Wars of *Rome*, and those of *Illyria*. As for that of the *Celtick* War, or the War of the *Gauls*, there is only a Fragment or Compendium of it extant, rather to make us regret what we want, than satisfy our Minds with that which remains. The  
Account

Account he gives of the Civil Wars is exceedingly praised by *Photius* ; it is written, he says, with great Accurateness, Elegance and Clearness ; it begins with the Sedition of the *Gracchi* about the *Agrarian* Law, and continues it down through all the Tumults and Confusions of the *Romans*, to the Death of *Pompey* the younger, which was but five Years before the Battle of *Actium*, and the Settlement of *Augustus* in the Empire ; a Story that is not written at large and intirely by any other but this Author and *Dion Cassius*, and is one of the best Supplements that is extant of the last Books in the End of *Livy*, and one of the best Introductions to the History of the *Cæsars* ; and lastly, it is one of the most lively Representations that is to be found in any History of the Disorders of Commonwealths, and the Miseries that attend great Changes in Governments.

BUT notwithstanding this favourable Character of *Photius* in behalf of *Appian*, *Bodin* falls foul both upon his Memory, and his Judgment in the Matter of History ; for this bold Censurer denies that it was the *Roman* Practice to lend their Wives to one another, after the Custom of the *Parthians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and imputes too much Credulity to our Historian upon this account ; tho' *Plutarch* relates the same Thing, and says, that *Cato* freely lent his Wife to *Hortensius* the Orator ; nor is the Law of *Romulus*, or that against Adulterers mentioned by *Agellius*, (as *Bodin* unadvisedly imagines) repugnant to this Practice. He blames him likewise for making *Cæsar* say, in his second Book of the Civil Wars, certain Expressions that were not spoken by him, but by *Pompey*, in a threatening Speech which he

## 80 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

used to the Senate, when he put his Hand upon his Sword, and told them, that if they would not grant him what he desired, that Sword should purchase it. This ought in Candour to be ascribed to a Failure of Memory, to which all Mankind is subject. He condemns him likewise for another Error in mistaking *Calphurnia* for *Pompeia*, that Wife of *Cæsar*, who was vitiated at the Ceremonies of the good Goddess. *Sigonius* is more indecent, he arraigns him of Levity, and many Omissions, without producing any Instance to support the Charge. *Scaliger* is very bold in his Censure upon him, in his Animadversions on the History of *Eusebius*, where he says he would appear to be a Child in the Business of his History, were it not that an Infinity of Matters were added to his History of the Wars of *Syria*. These Reflections are raised too high, yet his Partiality is a Fault that runs through all his Works; he flatters the *Romans*, always placing the Right as well as the Advantage on their Side, to the Prejudice of all other Nations with whom they were concerned. We may add to this, that he often attributes to himself the Labours of others, transcribing many Paragraphs and entire Sentences of *Polybius*, and other Authors more ancient, inserting them in his Works without citing their Texts, or making any Acknowledgment due to their Merit upon such Occasions. He is likewise charged for transcribing the greatest Part of the Commentaries of *Augustus*, which contained (as *Suetonius* relates) the most memorable Actions of his Life. This is indeed a Sort of Theft not to be allowed; *Deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere*; as *Pliny* says to *Vespasian*, on the same Subject; and *Scaliger* on this Occasion



Occasion calls him *alienorum laborum Fucum*, alluding to a certain Sort of lazy Flies, which nourish themselves by the Labour and the Honey of others.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Severity of *Scaliger* upon the Character of *Appian*, he has had his Admirers, who have represented him in a more favourable Light; *Cælius Secundus Curio*, in his Epistle Dedicatory before the *Latin* Impression, writes thus of him: It is certain, says he, that *Appian* proposed to himself the Method and Contexture of *Thucydides* and *Salust*, and endeavoured to imitate them both in their Veracity of Expression, and Quickness of Transition; for he did not weave together a perpetual Series of History, as *Livy* and others; but from the whole Matter, that is, from the greatest, and the most immortal Actions of the *Romans*, he separated the Wars they made upon any Nation or People, and made so many Bodies of History as the Wars were they undertook; which Reason and Image of Writing, *Cæsar* pursued in his so much celebrated Commentaries, wherein nothing is found empty, fabulous or incredible; no superfluous or feigned Speeches, or Orations for Ostentation, but all pure, true, religious and necessary, in which he did not imitate the Vanity of the *Greeks*, which to do is not indeed to write an History, but to deceive the World with Fables. *Rapin* confesses that he was a Copier of all the *Greeks* that treated on the same Subject, which occasions his Style to be as various as the Books from which he stole; yet after all, his Works are not to be despised, for they contain Matters of Worth and Learning.



EDITIONS of *APP IANUS*.

*Græcè, Typis nitidiss.*

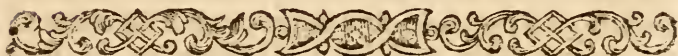
*apud* Carolum Stephanum, Lutet. 1551.

*Gr. & Lat. notis* Hen. Stephani.

*apud ipsum* Steph. 1592. Fol.

*Gr. & Lat. notis* H. Steph. & Alex. Tollii, 2 vol.

Amst. 1670. 8vo.



*D I O C A S S I U S.*

*D I O C A S S I U S*, who is besides known by the Surnames of *Cocceius* and *Cocceianus*, was born at *Nicea*, a City of *Bithynia*, whither he retired in his latter Years to pass in quiet the remaining part of his Life, after the Example of those Animals, who always return, as they say, to die in their Mansions. The Infirmary of his Legs called him to this Recess, and he writes that his Genius had foretold it him long before, by a Verse of *Homer's* *Iliads*, recited by *Photius*. As *Socrates* was said to have had a familiar Spirit, or *Dæmon*, who was as a Director of his Life, *Dio* alledges he was warned by his to avoid, by withdrawing himself, the Ambushes which the *Prætorian* Militia prepared for him; and the same Spirit or Goddess (to use his own Words) made him write his History, who before exercised himself only in Philosophical Learning, as that of  
divine

divine Dreams and their Interpretation, and he composed a Treatise upon that Subject.

HIS Father *Apronianus*, a Consular Man, (according to the Phrase of that Age) was Governor of *Dalmatia*, and some time after Proconsul of *Cilicia*. He himself had the same Consular Dignity bestowed upon him twice, which he exercised jointly with the Emperor *Alexander*, Son of *Mammea*, after he had passed through divers Employments under the precedent Emperors; for *Macrinus* had established him Lieutenant or Governor of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, and he some time commanded in *Africk*, and had afterwards the Administration of *Austria* and *Hungary*, then called *Pannonia*, committed to him. These Circumstances are proper to be known before we speak of his Writings, because they recommend and derive upon them a greater Authority.

His History comprised all the Time from the Building of *Rome* to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, which he writ in eighty Books, divided into eight Decads, of which few are saved from that unhappy Loss that has been fatal to many admirable Works of this Nature, by the Ignorance and Incurfions of barbarous Nations. At present the five and thirtieth Book is the first of those that remain entire; for we have but some Fragments of the four and thirtieth preceding. His Progress to the sixtieth is compleat enough; but instead of the last twenty, we must be content with what *Xiphilinus*, a Monk of *Constantinople*, has given us in a Compendium of them. *Photius* observes that he writ his *Roman History*, as some others had likewise done, not from the Foundation of *Rome* only, but even

## 84 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

from *Æneas* his Descent into *Italy*, which he continued to the Tyranny of *Heliogabalus*, and some Part of the Reign of *Alexander Severus* his Successor. That which we have of it now in our Possession, comprehending the Events of three hundred Years at least, begins but at the Time when *Lucullus* had his great Commands, and finishes with the Death of *Claudius* the Emperor, the rest is the Epitome of *Xiphilinus* before mentioned.

THOUGH all that has been lost of this excellent Author is much to be regretted, I think nothing is so deplorable as the Loss of the forty last Years, of which he writ as an Eye-witness, and one that had a Part in the Government of the State. For he could give no Account of what passed before the Empire of *Commodus*, but from the Relation of Strangers. But after that Emperor to the other, with whom he had the Honour to be Colleague in the Consulship, he built his Relations no more upon the Faith of others, but delivered his own Observations, which are now come to us only by the Hand of *Xiphilinus*, his Abbreviator. It is a clear Evidence of the prudent Conduct of *Dio*, that he could pass steadily through such dangerous Times as those under the Cruelty and Tyrannies of *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, and *Heliogabalus* (or, as it ought to be writ, *Elagabolus*) without the Loss of his Life, his Fortune, or Reputation, which run great Hazards under such arbitrary and bloody Princes, and are in the utmost Danger, without the greatest Dexterity of Wit and Conduct. He was so commendable, and behaved with that Equanimity, that after having overcome those stormy and tempestuous Seasons, wherein the

Quality

Quality of a Stranger and his Riches exposed him to much Envy, he arrived happily at a safe Port, and became safe under the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, an exceeding Lover of Justice, and a most powerful Protector of virtuous Men.

UNDER him he published the *Roman* History, to which he was directed by his Genius; as we observed before, and at the same Time obeyed the Command of *Septimius Severus*, by whose Orders he applied himself to that Undertaking. He confesses himself that he employed ten Years in providing the necessary Materials for this great Building, and twelve more in raising it, and adding that Majesty unto it, which makes us even at this Day admire its dismembred Fragments; and broken Ruins. A Man of his Quality, who had passed his whole Life in the Management of publick Affairs, who had thoroughly read Men as well as Books, and of such an experienced Conduct, could not avoid proving a most correct Historian. Nor has any of the *Roman* Writers discovered so much as he of those State Secrets, which *Tacitus* styles, *Arcana Imperii*, and of which he makes so high a Mystery. He is so exact in describing the Order of the *Comitia*, the establishing of Magistrates, and the Use of the publick Rites of the *Romans*, that there is no Account of them so particular in any other Author. And in what relates to the Consecration of the Emperors, their *Apotheosis*, or inrolling among the Number of the Gods, we may say he is the only Writer who has shewn us an exact Form, except *Herodian*, who affected afterwards to imitate him upon the same Subject. But particularly in the fifty sixth Book, he is very curious where he represents the Pomp of

*Augustus*



## 86 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

*Augustus* his Funeral, his Bed of State, his Effigies of Wax, and the funeral Oration which *Tiberius* read before the People; then describes the Rites that related to the burning of his Body; how *Livia* gathered and laid up his Bones, and in the End with what Dexterity they made an Eagle fly from the funeral Pile, whence that Bird of *Jupiter* seemed to bear the Soul of the Emperor to Heaven.

THE Funeral Oration before mentioned introduces a Remark that *Dio* used, not only the oblique, but the direct way of Oration also in the Body of his History. Those of *Pompey* to the *Romans*, and of *Gabinus* afterwards in his thirty-sixth Book, are of the last Sort. The Philosophical Discourse of *Philistus* to *Cicero*, found in the eight and thirtieth, which persuades him to bear his Exile in *Macedonia* with Constancy, is also in the Form of a *Protopopæia*, after a very considerable Dialogue between them two. The Orations of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the first of whom exhorted *Augustus* to quit the Empire, the second on the contrary to retain it, are of the same Sort, and contain the whole fifty-second Book. By this it appears, that they who believe all Sorts of Orations to be indecent in History, will not be pleased with *Dio's* Method of writing, for he abstains not from those which are most to be avoided, namely, the *Direct*, and has made use of Dialogues also, which is contrary to the Rules of the Criticks in History.

BUT if we must take notice of his Faults, there are others which deserve sooner to be complained of than what we mentioned: He is accused of having taken *Cæsar's* Part too much against *Pompey*, and to accommodate himself to  
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the Courſe of Fortune. Nor ſeems he more equitable in reſpect of *Antonius's* Faction, which he always favours to the Prejudice of that of *Cicero*. And whoever reads in the forty-fixth Book the Inveſtive of *Q. Fuſius Calenus* againſt this incomparable Orator, will be hardly able to endure all the Injuries with which it ſeems *Dio* would have ſullied his Reputation. Not content to make him reproached for being the Son of a Fuller or Dyer, and very often reduced to dreſs Vines or cultivate Olive-Trees, he aſſaults his Perſon, and touches his Honour in the moſt ſenſible Parts; he repreſents him ridiculous for his Fearfulneſs, and to blaſt him the more, affirms, that of all the Orations which were ſeen of his, he delivered not one of them after the Manner in which they were writ, and therefore his Want of Memory is imputed as a Crime to him. But he makes *Calenus* much more ſevere, he would have him throw off the long Robe, if it had not been uſeful to him to hide his bandy Legs, and ill-shaped Feet; and arraigns his conjugal Bed, to expoſe the Vices of his Wives, charges him with prostituting the Honour of one of them; and in the Mention of his Children, he accuses him of Inceſt with his Daughter, and repreſents his Son as an infamous Libertine, perpetually drunk. Certainly, to treat one of the greateſt Perſons in the *Roman* Republick in this ſcandalous Manner, is rather like a Satyriſt than an Hiſtorian. But *Dio* purſues his Blow, and ſo violently preſſes upon the Character of this wonderful Orator, that in the following Book he takes a new Occaſion to make *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antonius*, vomit out abundance of Reproaches againſt his Memory, and pierce his Tongue through with her Bodkin.

## 88 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

*DIO* has not behaved with more Respect to the Reputation of *Seneca*, unless those Reflections are justly charged upon *Xiphiline*, who, as some suppose, maliciously delivers the Thoughts of *Suillius*, or some other as bad, for those of *Dio*; tho' other Writers have accused *Seneca* of leading a Life quite contrary to the moral Discipline he professed, and the philosophical Character to which he pretended. In this History he is branded with the Guilt of Adultery with *Julia* and *Agrippina*, and charged with the Death of the last. He is taxed with reading Lectures of Pederasty to *Nero*, and ascending the Theatre with him, to make Orations in his Applause. In short, his Luxury and Avarice are aggravated to that degree, that the Cause of the Rebellion in *Britain* is imputed to him; where the People could no more endure his Extortion, than *Nero* could suffer his Conspiracies, from which he had no other Means to deliver himself than by putting so cruel a Master to a violent Death. But these Invectives seem to proceed rather from the Malice of the Abbreviator than the Historian; because *Dio*, in his fifty-ninth Book, declares himself in Favour of *Seneca*, and very much to his Reputation.

THIS Writer has been severely censured for Superstition and Credulity, and by that means, some Discredit has fallen upon his History. But surely some Allowance ought to be made to the Weakness of Humanity, for the best Authors have been blamed for the same Blemishes and Imperfections. In his forty-seventh Book he tells us, the Sun appeared at *Rome* sometimes lesser and sometimes greater than ordinary, to foretel the bloody Battle fought in the Fields of

of *Philippi*; which was also signified by many other Prodigies. He gave Credit to the strange Qualities of the *Psylli*, who pretend to a Power of expelling Poison out of the dead Body of *Cleopatra*; whom these Men (for there was no Female among them, since they begat themselves) endeavoured in vain to bring to Life again. These *Psylli* are mentioned to have been employed by *Augustus Cæsar* to cure *Cleopatra* after she had been bitten by the Asp, by sucking out the Venom of her Wounds, that she might adorn his Triumph at *Rome*. In his fifty-eighth Book he relates, that a Phoenix was seen in *Egypt* in the seven hundred and nineteenth Year after the Foundation of *Rome*. In another Place he writes, that *Vespasian* cured a blind Man, by spitting in his Eyes; and worked a like Miracle upon a lame Man's Hand, which he restored to its Vigour and former Use, by walking upon it; these Men being forewarned in a Dream that they should receive this Benefit from the Emperor. In another Place he says, that *Apollonius Tyanæus* saw in the City of *Ephesus* all that passed at the Death of *Domitian* in *Rome*, at the same Instant when the Tyrant was under the Murderer's Hand; so that he cried out, calling upon the Name of *Stephanus*, which was the Name of the Villain, bidding him *strike boldly*; and immediately, says he, the Act was done. As if *Dio* would have conformed himself to *Philostratus*, who writ at the same Time the Life of this Impostor, and there was no Difference to be allowed between true and fabulous History.

HE does not escape Censure from some, particularly from *Baronius*, who finds fault with him



## 99 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

him for not expressing himself with more Favour towards Christianity. This Charge scarce deserves a Reply, since he is to be esteemed as a *Pagan* Author, who was not like to recommend a Religion contrary to what he professed. It is certain, that when he speaks of the Victories of *Marcus Aurelius*, he attributes to the Magick Art of one *Arnuphis* an *Egyptian*, rather than to the Prayers of the *Christians*, the miraculous Rain which fell in Favour of the *Romans*, and the strange Tempests which afflicted the Army of the *Quadi*, whom the learned *Cluverius* takes for the present *Moravians*. But is it a Wonder in things subject to various Interpretations, as are ordinarily such Prodigies, that *Dio* an idolatrous Historian should not give the same Judgment as a Believer; and that he spake otherwise of them than *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, and some others have done?

His Style is by *Photius* placed in the Rank of the most elevated, being exceedingly raised by the Loftiness of his Thoughts. His Discourse, says he, is full of Phrases, which resemble the ancient Construction or Syntax, and his Expression answers the Greatness of the Matter he treats of. His Periods are often interrupted with Parentheses, and he uses many Transitions, which are very troublesome when they are not used artificially after his manner. But one thing is very remarkable, that though his Language is very numerous, and adjusted according to Art; yet it appears to be so little laboured, that the Reader does not perceive the Care that has been taken in it; because it is so clear and intelligible, that every one presupposes as much Facility in the Composition, as there is in  
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the Reading. He seems to have imitated *Thucydides*, whom he follows, especially in his Narratives and Orations; but he has the Advantage over him, not to be reproached with Obscurity. *Thucydides* is his great Example in every thing else, which he copies after with the greatest Circumspection. This is the Judgment *Photius* gives of him, who is to be allowed more Credit on this Occasion than *Sigonius*; who censures *Dio* for being too *Asiatick*, and so prolix in his Orations that he is troublesome to his Readers. The World must be left to the Liberty of Thinking, according to the Law of the *Romans*, *Populo libera sunt Suffragia*: Yet I conceive for what relates to Language, the surest way is to leave that to those to whom it is natural, and who have sucked it with their Milk, rather than to Strangers who are much more subject to be mistaken.

BESIDES the History of *Dio*, it seems that *Suidas* ascribes to him some other Compositions, as the Life of the Philosopher *Arrianus*, the Actions of *Trajan*, and certain Itineraries. *Raphael Volaterranus* makes him besides Author of three Books intitled *De Principe*, and some small Treatises of Morality.

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### EDITIONS of DIO CASSIUS.

*Græcè Typis nitidiss:*

*apud* Rob. Steph. Lutetiæ. 1548. Fol.

Gr. & Lat. ex Gul. Xylandri *Interpretatione*.

*apud* Hen. Stephanum, 1592. Fol.

*Xiphilini excerpta e Libris Dionis deperditis. Gr. & Lat.*

*apud* Hen. Steph. 1592. Fol.

Gr. & Lat. cum fragmentis amissorum Notis Joh. Leunclavii.

Hanoviæ, 1605. Fol.

HERO-



## H E R O D I A N,

A GRAMMARIAN of *Alexandria* in the third Century, the Son of *Apollonius*, surnamed *Dyscolus*. He passed most part of his Time at *Rome*, in the Courts of the Emperors, where he wrote his History, consisting of eight Books: From the Death of *Antoninus Philosophus* to *Balbinus*, and *Maximus Pupienus* murdered by the Army, in favour of young *Gordian*, whom they made his Successor.

THE History of *Herodian* receives its Commendation from the Merit of its Author. He declares at the Beginning of his first Book, that he will only write of the Affairs of his own Time, which he himself had seen or received from Persons of the best Credit; for which he was excellently qualified, by reason of the publick Employments that he exercised; for he might justly boast that he passed through the principal Offices of the State.

ABOUT the End of the second Book he acquaints us, (before he begins to write the Life of *Septimius Severus*, which contains all the third Book) that his History in general shall comprehend the Space of seventy Years, and treat of the Government of all the Emperors who succeeded one another, during that time; that

that is, from the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philosopher, to that of the younger *Gordianus*, Grandchild of the former, who is supposed by some to be the third of that Name. His eighth Book, which is the last of his Work, ends with the unworthy Slaughter of the two old Men *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, whom he calls *Maximus*, committed by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, to advance the forementioned *Gordianus* junior to the Throne.

THIS Writer is praised for his exact Judgment ; his Observations are discreet and elegant, and whoever reads him with Attention will find a great and delightful Variety, both of Things and Men, and frequent Examples of the Frowns and Smiles of Fortune, as she is ever changing ; he will observe strange and wonderful Councils, and unexpected Events ; he will find, as Occasion serves, grave and weighty Sentences, and a Style full of Dignity and Sweetness. He will discover, says *Politian*, Plenty of necessary Materials for the Improvement of his Life and Manners, and as it were the Looking-Glass of Humanity, which he may inspect all his Life-time ; and from whence he may draw Instructions for the better Management of publick or private Affairs. This Author may be read either in the original *Greek*, or *Latin* ; for it is hard to say, whether *Herodian* receives more Honour, who in his own Language flows with a plentiful Vein, or *Politian*, who has translated him so happily that he does not seem so much to have render'd as to have writ that History. This Author, in the Judgment of *Photius*, has writ with an Air so much the more clear and agreeable, in that he has not too much affected the *Attick* Terms, but  
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94 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

so tempered his Phrase, that his Discourse is heighten'd above the lower Form of Oration ; and, as there is nothing superfluous, so it cannot be said that he has omitted any thing useful or necessary to be known ; and he adds, (to compleat his Character) that considering all the Virtues of an Historian, there are few Authors to whom *Herodian* ought to subscribe.

It is observed by *La Mothe*, that this Writer has given a very noble and solemn Description of the *Pagan* Ceremonies used at the Consecration or Apotheosis of the *Roman* Emperors. It is in the Beginning of the fourth Book, where he so well represents to us all the Funeral Honours render'd to the Ashes of *Severus*, (which his Children had transported from *England* in an Alabaster Chest) that it is difficult to find any where a Relation more exact and instructive. He tells us how they were put into an Urn with the general Adoration of the Senate and the People, and carried by the Consuls to the Temple, where the sacred Monuments of their Emperors were preserved ; and then proceeding to describe the Funeral Pomp, he informs us that his Effigies in Wax, all clothed in Robes of Gold, was placed at the Gate of his Palace on an Ivory Bed, elevated from the Ground and magnificently adorned ; where, seven Days together, the Senators in Black, and the *Roman* Ladies all in White (without any other Ornaments) came to pay their Respects ; taking their Places, the Women on the Right, and the Men on the left Side of the Bed, all appearing with very mournful Countenances. He observes also, that the Physicians came duly to visit this Representation of the Emperor, making formal Approaches to  
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the Bed, as if he were alive, and declaring that his Sickness grew daily worse and worse : So true it is that this World is a continual Comedy. After this Time was passed over, the most considerable of the Youth and the Knights carried the same Bed on their Shoulders, first to the great *Forums*, where the Magistrates of *Rome* used to surrender their Charges ; and there a *Chorus* of young Men on the one Side, and Virgins on the other, sung Hymns to the Praise of the dead Emperor. From thence they proceeded to the *Campus Martius*, which was without the City ; where the Bed and Effigies were placed in a large square Tabernacle of Wood, elevated to the Height of one of those Towers, on which Lights are placed upon the Sea-Coasts, to direct Mariners to avoid the Dangers of rocky Shores. In the next Place he writes, that the *Roman* Knights made their Horses run round about the Tabernacle in certain orderly Motions, which were at that time called *Motus Pyrrhichii* ; and in orbicular Revolutions. And at the same time there were a certain Number of Chariots filled with Persons that represented the most qualified Men of the Empire, who also went in a kind of Procession round the great Machine, till the next Successor of the Emperor took a Torch in his Hand, and with it kindled some combustible Matter made for that Purpose at the Bottom of it, and then in a little time all the superb Edifice was consumed in Flames ; and at the same time they let an Eagle fly, which the *Pagan* Superstition of that Age believed was to carry the Soul of the Deceased into Heaven.

96 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

*JULIUS Capitolinus* allows *Herodian* to be a good Historian, but accuses him nevertheless of bearing too hard upon the Memory of *Alexander Severus*, and his Mother *Mammea*. This Charge is not so well supported, for he speaks very respectfully of the Clemency and mild Disposition of that Prince, who reigned fourteen Years without any Effusion of Blood, and without taking the Life of any one, otherwise than by the ordinary Course of Justice; which he remarks, as a Virtue very rare, and without Example, since the Reign of *Antoninus* the Philosopher.

As to the Empress *Mammea*, (who is proposed by some as a Pattern to those to whom is committed the Education of Princes) he by no means approved of her Government: Sometimes he describes her as a Princess devoured by Avarice, who invaded the Possessions of others by evil and fraudulent Means; and says, she was for that Reason hated by her Son. And then he represents her to be so proud, that she could not endure her Daughter-in-Law *Augusta*, impatient to have the Title of Empress given to any but herself, but banished her into *Africa*; after having caused her Father to be put to Death, against the Consent of the Emperor, because he made publick Complaints of the Wrongs he and the young Empress had suffered by the Cruelty of the same *Mammea*. Nor was she less injurious to her Son, who when he regretted the Defeat of the *Roman* Army, which was too far advanced into the Country of the *Parthians*, could not but impute the Dishonour of it to her; who, on Pretence of her Care, which persuaded him not to hazard his Person, was the Occasion of  
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the Loss of that Army, and of all the Reproach and Infamy that attended it. Nor does *Herodian* assign any other Cause of the Death both of the Mother and the Son, who were assassinated by the Soldiers, than the Hatred they had conceived against *Mammaea*; because of her insatiable Avarice, and shameless Parsimony, by which means *Maximius* was raised to the Empire.

BUT though *Herodian* justly blamed *Mammaea* for her ill Conduct in the Matter of Government, he very much commends her Care in the Education of her Son, excluding from him all profane Persons, and especially those Pests of Courts, who flatter the bad Inclination of Princes, and so pervert their Nature, and immediately vitiate their Understandings. She would suffer none to have Access to him that were not virtuous in their Lives, and of approved Behaviour; and so discreetly regulated his Time, that it was chiefly employed in Affairs worthy of him. Nor was the Vigilance and great Pains she took to preserve her Son from so vile a Monster as *Hellogabalus* (who used all Methods to deprive him of his Life) less worthy of Praise, as our Historian observes. *Lampridius* likewise commends the Piety of this Princess, and says, that never any Prince was better educated than *Alexander Severus* in all the Exercises of Peace and War, by the excellent Masters she provided for him. And he finishes his Discourse of the Life of that Emperor, in observing that he was of a sweet Disposition, being the Son of a most virtuous Mother. Thus the Integrity of this Historian seems clear and unblameable, nor is it Justice to condemn him, as guilty of Prejudice or Partiality in his Writings.



## 98 *Lives of the* GRECIAN *Historians.*

THOUGH we consider *Herodian* in this Place as an Historian, yet we are told by *Suidas* that he writ many other Books, which are not preserved to our Time. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls him *Artium minutissimum Sciscitatore*. He passed the best Part of his Life at *Rome* in the Courts of the Emperors, where he had Opportunities to inform himself (with that Curiosity which appears in his Writings) of many Particulars, which are to be found no where else.

ASSISTED by these Advantages, he traces the Actions of Men to their true Springs, shews how their Measures were laid, and how pursued, makes grave and pertinent Reflections in due Time and Place, and offers Instructions and Advice, which, exactly followed, would conduce exceedingly to the Ornament and Improvement of human Life. His Language is clear and masculine, and flows from him with so much Ease, that he seems to have taken no Pains to adorn it; yet, as careless of Ornament as he appears, he still preserves a Majesty suitable to the Greatness of the Subject which he treats, and has something in him so pleasing, and so comely, as perhaps all the Art and Labour of other Men can never reach; which, by all the World is allowed a Beauty and Perfection of Style, not to be attained unto but by the compleatest Genius, and the greatest Masters of the Tongue they write in. His *Lives* seem to be written with the Air of a Gentleman, who is always natural and unaffected, as well in his Expression as Behaviour, and may be distinguished as well by the Fashion of his Style as the Mien and Carriage of his Body. It may be truly said, that as far as he has gone, he has given us a just Picture of the *Roman* Emperors; laying open to  
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our View, as well their Beauties as their Blemishes, and displaying both without Flattery or Prejudice in their true and natural Colours. It may be justly said of him, as it was of *Suetonius*; that he writ their *Lives* with the same Freedom that they led them. *Casaubon* has done Justice to *Herodian* in this Particular, and established the Fame of his Sincerity, as well as his other historical Virtues; whose Authority in the Republick of Letters is so considerable, that it would be needless to add any thing more upon this Subject.

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## P L U T A R C H.

**T**HIS Writer flourished in the Time of *Trajan*, and was born at *Chæronea*, a small City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, in the latter End of the Reign of *Claudius*. *Xylander* has observed, that *Plutarch* himself in the Life of *Pericles* and that of *Anthony* has mentioned both *Nero* and *Domitian* as his Contemporaries. His Family was ancient in *Chæronea*, and had for many Descents borne the most considerable Offices in that petty Commonwealth; the chiefest of which was known by the Name of *Archon* among the *Grecians*. His great Grandfather was *Nicarchus*, who among other Sons had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning and Philosophy. He makes mention of his Father in his *Symposiaques*, or *Table Conversations*, and represents him as arguing several Points of Philosophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any Part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he speaks of him as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry.

THE Father of *Plutarch* had many Children besides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias* his Brothers were bred up with him, all three instructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all Parts of Philosophy. 'Tis manifest from our Author that they lived together in great Friendliness, and in high Veneration to their Grandfather and Father. What Affection

Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon* may be gathered from these Words of his. "As for my self, tho' Fortune on several Occasions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation so great to her, as the Kindness and intire Friendship which my Brother *Timon* has always born, and still bears me; and this is so evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance." *Lamprias*, the youngest of the three, is introduced by him in his *Morals* as one of a sweet and pleasant Conversation, inclined to Mirth and Raillery, or as we say in *English*, a well humoured Man, and a good Companion.

THE whole Family being thus addicted to Philosophy, it was no wonder if he was initiated betimes to Study, to which he was naturally inclined. In pursuit of which he was so happy as to fall into good Hands at first, being recommended to the Care of *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian*, who having taught Philosophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, settled himself at last in *Athens*, where he was well received, and generally respected. At the End of *Themistocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Pensioner in the House of this *Ammonius*, and in his *Symposiaques* he brings him in disputing with his Scholars, and giving them Instruction. Having the Assistance of such a Master, he advanced to Admiration in Knowledge, and that without first travelling into foreign Parts, or acquiring any foreign Tongue, tho' the *Roman* Language at that Time was not only vulgar in *Rome* itself, but generally through the Extent of that vast Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of



it; for like a true Philosopher, who regarded Things, not Words, he strove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great Exactness. And himself confesses in the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life, that during his Abode in *Italy* and at *Rome*, he had neither the Leisure to study, nor so much as to exercise the *Roman* Language, (I suppose he means to write in it, rather than to speak it;) as well by reason of the Affairs he managed, as that he might acquit himself to those who were desirous to be instructed by him in Philosophy, insomuch that he became not conversant in *Latin* Books 'till the Declination of his Age.

As it was his good Fortune to be moulded first by Masters the most excellent in their kind, so it was his own Virtue to suck in with an incredible Desire, and earnest Application of Mind, their wise Instructions; and it was also his Prudence so to manage his Health by Moderation of Diet, and bodily Exercise, as to preserve his Parts without Decay to a great old Age, to be lively and vigorous to the last, and to preserve himself to his own Enjoyments, and to the Profit of Mankind. Thus principled and grounded, he considered that a larger Communication with learned Men was necessary for his Accomplishment; and therefore having a Soul insatiable of Knowledge, he took up a Resolution to travel. *Egypt* was at that Time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Mysteriousness of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converse with the Priesthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Business, by the Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, which he has left us;

in which he shews himself not meanly versed in the antient Theology and Philosophy of those wise Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he visited in his Way all the Academies or Schools of the Philosophers, and gathered from them many of those Observations with which he has enriched Posterity.

BESIDES this, he applied himself with extreme Diligence to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their kind, and already published, but also all Sayings and Discourses of wise Men which he had heard in Conversation, or which he had received from others by Tradition; as likewise the Records and publick Instruments preserved in Cities which he had visited in his Travels, and which he afterwards scattered through his Works. To which purpose he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to search the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to understand thoroughly the Model of their antient Government, their Legislators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*; digesting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with so much Care, that he has not omitted even those of their Women, or their private Soldiers, together with their Customs, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the Manner of their publick and their private Living, both in Peace and War. The same Methods he also took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives, and his *Greek* and *Roman* Questions sufficiently testify. From this rich Cabinet he has taken those excellent Pieces which he has distributed to Posterity, and which give us Occasion to deplore the Loss of the Residue which either the Injury of Time or the Negligence of Copiers have denied to us. With regard to his

Opinions in Religion and Philosophy, he in general followed the *Platonic* Sect, for he had that Reverence for the Memory of *Plato* and *Socrates*, that he annually celebrated their Birth-days with a particular Veneration.

THERE can be no Exactness observed in writing the Life of *Plutarch*. His Wife's Name, her Parentage and Dowry are no where mentioned by him or any other, nor in what Part of his Age he married, tho' 'tis probable in the Flower of it. There is Reason to believe that his Wife's Name was *Timoxena*, whose Conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superstition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Constancy in supporting the Loss of Children, he takes Occasion to speak of and applaud. The Number of his Children were at least five, a Daughter called *Timoxena*, and four Sons. Two of the Sons, *Autobulus* and *Charon*, and the Daughter, died young, the two remaining are supposed to have survived him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own, and that of the other *Lamprias*, so called in Memory of his Grandfather. This was he of all his Children who seems to have inherited his Father's Philosophy, and to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch's* Writings, and perhaps also the Apothegms. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Sister remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honoured by that learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philosophy.

THAT *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him,

him, by reason of some Part of his Works already published, is also credible, because he had so great Resort of the *Roman* Nobility to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming; that he was invited thither by the Correspondence he had with *Sossius Senecio*, might be one Reason of his undertaking that Journey is almost undeniable. It likewise appears he was divers times at *Rome*, and perhaps before he came to inhabit there, might make Acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio* (who was four times Consul) to whom he dedicated almost all the Lives of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He had the Opportunity while he was at *Rome*, by the Favour of many great and learned Men then living, to search the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furnish him with proper Instruments and Materials for so noble an Undertaking as that of the *Roman* Lives, a Design which he had formed early, and on which he had resolved to build his Fame. Not but that he was intrusted also with the Management of the publick Affairs in the Empire, during his Residence in the Metropolis, which may be made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch*, says he, lived in the Time of *Trajan*, and also before his Reign, that Emperor bestowed upon him the Dignity of Consul; an Edict was also made in favour of him, that the Magistrates or Officers of *Illyria* should do nothing in that Province without the Knowledge and Approbation of *Plutarch*. When he was made known to *Trajan* is like the rest uncertain, or by what Means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduced to his Acquaintance. But 'tis most likely that *Trajan*, then a private Man,



was one of the Auditors, among others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis also thought this wise Emperor made use of him in all his Councils, and that the Happiness which attended him in his Undertakings, together with the Administration of the Government, which in all his Reign was just and regular, proceeded from the Instructions given him by this wise and excellent Man.

FOR the Time of his Abode in the Imperial City, if he came as early as *Vespasian*, and departed not till after *Trajan's* Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, because gathered from himself, that his *Lives* were almost the latest of his Works, and therefore we may well conclude, that having modelled, but not finished them at *Rome*, he afterwards resumed the Work in his own Country, which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio*, still living, as appears by what he has written in the Proem to his *Lives*. The Desire of visiting his own Country, so natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age (for he could not be much less than sixty) and perhaps also the Death of *Trajan*, prevailed with him at last to leave *Italy*. After his Return, he was by the unanimous Consent of his Citizens, chosen *Archon*, or chief Magistrate of *Chæroneæ*, and not long after admitted himself into the Number of *Apollon's* Priests, in both which Employments he seems to have continued till his Death; of which we have no particular Account, either as to the Manner of it, or the Year, only 'tis evident that he lived and continued his Studies to a great old Age.

*PLUTARCH* has been justly praised for his Copiousness of Learning, his Integrity, Perspicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodness which appears through all his Writings. His Business was not to please the Ear, but to charm, and to instruct the Mind; and therefore we may easily forgive the Cadences of his Words, and the Roughness of his Expression; yet for Manliness of Eloquence, if it abounded not in this Writer, it was not wanting in him. He neither studied the sublime Style, nor affected the flowery. The Choice of Words, the Numbers of Periods, the Turns of Sentences, and those other Ornaments of Speech, he neither sought nor shun'd. But the Depth of Sense, the Accuracy of Judgment, the Disposition of the Parts, and Contexture of the whole, in so admirable and vast a Field of Matter, and lastly, the Copiousness and Variety of Words, appear shining through his whole Works.

It is easy to lead this Writer with the Praises and Commemorations of the Learned in all Ages, for both antient and modern have made honourable Mention of him. To overburden this short Account with long Quotations is enough to raise a Distrust, in common Readers, that *Plutarch* wants them. *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great Restorer of the *Greek*, who lived above two hundred Years ago, deserves to have his Suffrage set down in Words at length; for the rest have only commended *Plutarch* more than any single Author, but he has extolled him above all together. It is said, that having this extravagant Question put to him by a Friend, that if Learning must suffer a general Shipwreck, and he had only his

## 108 *Lives of the GRECIAN Historians.*

Choice left him of preserving one Author, who should be the Man he would preserve? he answered, *Plutarch*; and might probably give this Reason, that in saving him he should save the best Collection of them all.

THE Epigram of *Agathias* deserves also to be remembered; this Author flourished about the Year five Hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*; the Verses are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Translation of them, by Mr. *Dryden*, I will conclude the Praises of this Author, promising first, that they are supposed to be written upon a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Cheronean Plutarch, to thy deathless Praise,  
Does martial Rome this grateful Statue raise;  
Because both Greece and she thy Fame have  
shar'd,  
Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd,  
But thou thyself could'st never write thy own;  
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

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LUCI-



## L U C I A N.

**L**UCIAN, as pleasing and useful as he was in his Writings, has left so little of his own Affairs on Record, that there is scarce sufficient to fill a Page from his Birth to his Death. There were many of the Name of *Lucian* among the Antients, eminent in several Ways, and whose Names have reached Posterity with Honour and Applause. *Suidas* mentions one as a Man of singular Probity, who having discharged the Administration of the chief Præfect of the Oriental Empire under *Arcadius*, with extraordinary Justice and Praise of the People, drew on himself the Envy and Hate of the Courtiers, (the constant Attendant of eminent Virtue and Merit) and the Anger of the Emperor himself, and was at last violently destroyed.

AMONG those eminent for their Learning were some Divines and Philosophers; but none of this Name has met with the general Applause of so many Ages as *Lucian* the Philosopher and eminent *Sophist*, who was Author of the Dialogues. He had not the good Fortune to be born of illustrious or wealthy Parents, which give a Man a very advantageous Rise on his first Appearance in the World; but the Father of our *Lucian* laboured under so great a Straitness of Estate, that he was fain to put his Son Apprentice to a *Statuary*, whose Genius for the inner Studies was



was so extraordinary and so rare, because he hoped from that Business not only a speedy Supply to his own Wants, but was secure that his Education in that Art would be much less expensive to him.

HE was born in *Samosata*, a City of *Syria*, not far from the River *Euphrates*, and for this Reason he calls himself more than once an *Assyrian*, or a *Syrian*; but he was derived from a *Greek Original*, his Forefathers having been Citizens of *Patra* in *Achaia*. We have nothing certain as to the exact Time of his Birth; *Suidas* confirms his flourishing under the Emperor *Trajan*; but then he was likewise before him. Some mention the Reign of *Adrian*, but it cannot be fixed to any Year or Consulate. The Person he was bound to was his Uncle, a Man of a severe and merose Temper, of whom he was to learn the Statuaries and Stonecutters Art; for his Father observing our *Lucian*, now a Boy, of his own Head, and without any Instructor, make various Figures in Wax, he persuaded himself, that if he had a good Master, he could not but arrive to an uncommon Excellence in it.

BUT it happened in the very Beginning of his Time, he broke a Model, and was very severely called to account for it by his Master: He not liking this Treatment, and having a Soul and Genius above any mechanic Trade, ran away home. After which in his Sleep there appeared to him two young Women, or rather the tutelary Goddesses of the Statuary Art, and of the liberal Sciences, hotly disputing of their Preference to each other, and on a full Hearing of both Sides, he bids adieu to Statuary, and intirely surrenders himself to the Conduct of Virtue and

and Learning. And as his Desires of Improvement were great, and the Instructions he had very good, the Progress he made was as considerable, till by the Maturity of his Age, and his Study, he made his Appearance in the World. Tho' it is not supposed, that there is any thing of Reality in this Dream or Vision of *Lucian*, which he treats of in his Works, yet this may be gather'd from it, that *Lucian* himself having consulted his Genius, and the Nature of the Study his Father had allotted him, and that to which he found a Propensity in himself, quitted the former, and pursued the latter, chusing rather to form the Minds of Men, than their Statues.

IN his Youth he taught Rhetoric in *Gaul*, and several other Places. He pleaded likewise at the Bar in *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, but the Noise of the Bar disgusting, and his ill Success in Causes disheartning him, he quitted the Practice of Rhetoric and the Law, and applied himself to writing. He was forty Years old when he first took to Philosophy. Having a Mind to make himself known in *Macedon*, he took the Opportunity of speaking in the publick Assembly of all that Region. In his old Age he was received into the Imperial Family, and had the Place of Intendant of *Egypt*, after he had travelled through almost all the known Countries of that Age, to improve his Knowledge in Men, Manners, and Arts. For some Writers make this particular Observation on his Travel into *Gaul*, and Residence in that Country, that he gained there the greatest Part of his Knowledge in Rhetoric; that Region being in his Age, and also before it, a Nursery of Eloquence and Oratory,

tory, as *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and others sufficiently witness.

THE Manner of his Death is obscure to us, tho' 'tis most probable he died of the Gout. *Suidas* alone tells a Story of his being worried to Death and devoured by Dogs returning from a Feast, which being so uncommon a Death, so very improbable, and attested only by one Author, has found little Credit with Posterity. If it be true that he was once a *Christian*, and afterwards became a *Renegade* to that Belief, perhaps some Zealots may have invented this Tale of his Death as a just and signal Punishment for his Apostacy. This Story is generally looked upon as a Fiction, and it is more likely that he should die in his Bed at so great an Age as fourscore and ten, than be torn in Pieces and devoured by Dogs, when he was too feeble to defend himself. Of his Posterity we know nothing more, than that he left a Son behind him, who was as much in Favour with the Emperor *Julian* as his Father had been with *Aurelius* the Philosopher. This Son became in Time a famous *Sophist*, and among the Works of *Julian*, we find an Epistle of that great Person to him.

*LUCIAN* seems to have taken up no settled Principles of Religion; he rather doubted of every Thing, weighed all Opinions, and adher'd to none of them, only used them as they served his Occasion for the present Dialogue, and perhaps rejected them in the next. And this is the more likely, if we consider the Genius of the Man, whose Image we may clearly see in the Glass which he holds before us of his Writings. He is in one Part of his Book a *Stoic*, in the other an *Epicurean*, never constant to himself  
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in any Scheme of Divinity, unless it be in despising his *Gentile* Gods. And this Derision, as it shews the Man himself, so it gives us an Idea of the Age in which he lived; for if that had been devout or ignorant, his scoffing Humour had been either restrained, or had not passed unpunished, all knowing Ages being naturally Sceptick, and not at all bigotted, which, if I am not much deceived, is the proper Character of our own. In short, he was too fantastical, too giddy, too irresolute either to be any thing at all, or any thing long; and in this View I cannot think he was either a steady Atheist, or a Deist, but a Doubter, a Sceptic, as he plainly declares himself to be in the Dialogue, when he puts himself under the Name of *Hermotimus* the Stoic, called *The Dialogue of the Sects*.

As for his Morals, they are spoken of as variously as his Opinions; some are for decrying him more than he deserves, his Defenders themselves dare not set him up for a Pattern of severe Virtue; no Man is so profligate as openly to profess Vice; and therefore it is no Wonder if under the Reign of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and the two *Antonines*, of which the last was his Patron and Benefactor, he lived not so much a Libertine as he had it to be in his Nature. He is more accused for his Love of Boys, than of Women. Not that we have any particular Story to convince us of this detestable Passion in him, but his own Writings bear this Record against him, that he speaks often of it, and I know not that ever he condemns it. Repeated Expressions as well as repeated Actions witness some secret Pleasure in the Deed, or at least some  
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secret Inclination to it. He seems to insinuate in his Dialogue of *Loves*, that *Socrates* was given to this Vice, but we find not that he blames him for it; which, had he been wholly innocent himself, it became a Philosopher to have done. He is accused likewise for writing too lasciviously in his Dialogues of the *Harlots*. We find not however that *Lucian* was charged with the Wantonness of his Dialogues in his Life-time; if he had been, he would certainly have answer'd for himself, as he did to those who accused him for exposing *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Diogenes*, and other great Philosophers, to the Laughter of the People, when *Jupiter* sold them by Inch of Candle.

IN other Respects, this Writer was of a Life as unblameable as any Man, for ought we find to the contrary; and this probable Inducement favours the Opinion, because he had so honourable an Employment under *Marcus Aurelius*, an Emperor as clear sighted as he was truly virtuous. This Writer seems to be an Enemy to nothing but to Vice and Folly. The Pictures which he draws of *Nigrinus* and of *Demonax*, are as fair as that of Virtue herself, if, as the Philosopher said, she could wear a Body. And if we oppose to them the Lives of *Alexander*, the false Prophet, and of *Peregrinus*, how pleasingly, and with how much Profit does the Deformity of the last set off the Beauty of the first?

*LUCIAN* is generally allowed to have been an universal Scholar, and a prodigious Wit; he is *Attic* and neat in his Style, clear in his Narration, and wonderful facetious in his Repartees; he furnishes you with almost all the poetical History in such a diverting Manner, that you will not easily

easily forget it; and supplies the most dry and barren Wit with a rich Plenty of Materials. If we compare his Style with the *Greek* Historians his Cotemporaries, or near his Time, we shall find it much more pure than that of *Plutarch*, *Dion*, or *Appian*, tho' not so grave; because his Subjects and theirs required to be treated after a different Manner. It was not of an uniform Web, says *Mayn*, like *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and some others whom he names, but was somewhat peculiar to himself; his Words well chosen, his Periods round, the Parts of his Sentences harmoniously divided; a full Flood, or even a Torrent of Persuasion, without Inequalities or Swellings, such as might be put in equal Comparison with the best Orations of *Demosthenes*, or *Isocrates*, not so dry as the first, or so flowery as the last. His Wit, says *Ablancourt*, was full of Urbanity, that *Attic* Salt, which the *French* call *fine Raillery*; not obscene, not gross, not rude, but facetious, well-manner'd, and well-bred. Only he will not allow his Love the Quality last mentioned, but thinks it rustical, and according either to his own Genius, or that of the Age in which he lived.

IF Wit consists in the Propriety of Thoughts and Words, then *Lucian's* Thoughts and Words are always proper to his Characters, and to his Subjects. If the Pleasure arising from Comedy and Satyre be either Laughter, or some nobler Sort of Delight which is above it, no Man is so great a Master of Irony as this Writer. That Figure is not only a keen, but a shining Weapon in his Hand, it glitters in the Eyes of those it kills; his own Gods, his greatest Enemies, are not butchered by him, but fairly slain; they must

must acknowledge the Hero in the Stroke, and take the Comfort which *Virgil* gives to a dying Captain, *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis.*

I KNOW not whom *Lucian* imitated, unless it was *Aristophanes*, (for you never find him mentioning any *Roman Wit*, so much the *Grecians* thought themselves superior to their Conquerors.) But he who has best imitated him in *Latin*, is *Erasmus*, and in *French Fontenelle* in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, which I never read but with a new Pleasure.

THE Way which *Lucian* chose to deliver his pleasing and profitable Truths, was that of Dialogue. He was sensible of the difficult Task he undertook in this way of writing, as appears in his Discourse against one who had called him *Prometheus*. He owns himself in this Particular to be like him, to whom he was resembled, to be the Inventor of a new Work in a new Manner, the Model of which he had from none before him; but adds withall, that if he could not give it the Graces which belong to so happy an Invention, he deserves to be torn by twelve Vultures instead of one, which preys upon the Heart of that first Man-potter. For, to quit the beaten Road of the Ancients, and take a Path of his own choosing, he acknowledges to be a bold and ridiculous Attempt, if it succeed not. The Mirth of Dialogue and Comedy in my Work, says he, is not enough to make it pleasing; because the Union of two Contraries may as well produce a Monster as a Miracle, as a Centaur results from the joint Nature of Horse and Man.

IT is evident, that the chief Design of this Writer was to disnest Heaven of so many immo-  
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ral and debauched Deities ; his next, to expose the mock Philosophers ; and his last, to give us Examples of a good Life in the Persons of the true. The rest of his Discourses are on mixed Subjects, less for Profit than Delight ; and some of them too libertine.

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Gr. & Lat. *Notis* Joh. Bourdelotii.

Parisi. 1615. Fol.

Gr. Lat. *Notis* Joh. Benedicti. 2 vol.

Salmur 1619. 8vo.

Gr. Lat. *Notis variorum, curâ* Joh. Geo. Grævii.

2 Vol.

Amst. 1687. 8vo.

Gr. Lat. *Notis variorum* Mosi du Soul, & Tob.

Hemsterhuis, 3 vol.

Amst. 1743. 4to.

CAIUS CRISPUS  
SALLUSTIUS.

THIS excellent Historian was born at *Ami-  
ternum*, in the Country of the *Sabines*, in  
the Year Six hundred and sixty-eight, from the  
Founding of *Rome* ; being the very same where-  
in, according to the *Roman Annals*, *Athens* was  
taken and sacked by *Sylla*. He was descended  
from the noble Family of the *Sallustii*, which  
had for a long Series of Years made a Figure in  
the second Order or Degree of Quality in the  
Republick. He had his Education at *Rome*,  
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the most illustrious City then in the World; and finding his Genius not to lie to Arms or Horfes, but the more refined Labours of the Brain; he applied himself to the Pursuit of Learning.

HE was led, as well by his Judgment as his Inclination to the Business of History. And, as in the Course of his Education he had for his Præceptor, among others, *Atteius Pretexatus*, entitled *Philologus*, one of the most famous Grammarians of the Age; the same *Atteius*, on his designing an History, furnished him with an Abstract of the Affairs of the *Romans*, to make his Choice of which he should write. There is reason to believe he had laid the Foundation of his historical Works in his earlier Years, but that he was interrupted from prosecuting it by the Occupations of a publick Employment; for being seized by the Disease of Ambition, as he very frankly intimates himself, he would needs have a Post in the Government. It ought to be observed, that the Manners of the *Romans* were at that time extremely degenerated. Now *Sallust* coming upon the Stage in times so corrupt, and being young, it will be the less wonder'd at, that he suffered himself to be overcome. It was enough perhaps to batter down a severer Virtue than his, and yet he professes that he did in his Heart abominate the Vices he saw practised. But the Tide against him was so strong, that all the great and magnanimous Notions he had been possessed with of the Virtue and Discipline of the ancient *Romans* became languid in him. In short, he was borne away by the Torrent, and plunged into the common Corruption.

WE are told he was made a Tribune of the People in the Year that *Clodius* was killed by *Milo*. In this Office (wherein by the way it is said he got no Reputation) he acted with great Fierceness against *Milo*, to revenge the Treatment received from him on the score of *Fausta*, the Daughter of *Sylla*, with whom having been taken in Adultery, *Milo*, as Tribune at that Juncture, had sentenced to be severely whipped; which Punishment he commuted by a Sum of Money. Moreover, the Invective ascribed to *Cicero* relates, that in the Year seven hundred or three or four, he was expelled the Senate by the then Censors *Appius Claudius* and *Calpurnius Piso*, upon account of his Fornications and Adulteries. *Suetonius* also tells us that *Lenæus* a Grammarian and Freedman of *Pompey's*, lashed him severely in *Lampoons*, calling him *Whoremaster*, *Glutton*, *Debauchee*, and a Monster of Inconsistencies in his Life and Writings. And the aforementioned Invective arraigns him of selling his Patrimony in the Life-time of his Father, of his having been twice tried for Crimes, whereby he was brought into the last Jeopardy; and from whence he escaped not by his own Innocence, but by his Judges suffering themselves to be forsworn; of his having the Impudence in open Senate to acknowledge himself guilty of Adultery; and, in fine, of several other Enormities too scandalous to be inserted in this Place.

AFTER his Expulsion out of the Senate, and during his Recess from publick Affairs, he applied himself to the Prosecution of his former Design, of compiling his History. But some time after, upon *Julius Cæsar's* coming to be at  
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the Head of Affairs, *Sallust* was not only restored to his Dignity of Senator, but was made Questor. In which Office, the aforesaid Invektive proceeds to accuse him of great Corruption, of making Sale of every thing that he could in it, of using it only as an Occasion of Plunder, and of bringing the very Post into Disgrace. However he was afterwards made Prætor, I suppose, by the like Promotion of *Cæsar's*; in which Employment, as we have it from *Hirtius*, in the Beginning of his History of the *African War*, *Cæsar* sent him with a Squadron of his Fleet against the Island of *Cercina*, upon Intelligence there was a great Quantity of Corn in it. Moreover *Dio* has another Passage concerning his Prætorship, to this Purpose, that the Forces of *Cæsar* which lay in *Campania*, and were designed for *Africa*, happening to mutiny, and the Prætor *Sallust* departing for *Rome* to give him an Account of it, he was very near being knocked on the Head by some of the Soldiers, who pursued him, and put to the Sword two Senators, and spared none that fell into their Hands. The same Author relates, that *Cæsar* bestowed on him also the Government of *Numidia*. And here again the Invektive I have quoted (whose Authority is much suspected) falls upon him for his Covetousness and Rapine, intimating that he treated it not like a Province, but an Enemy's Country, by his Pollings and Exactions; that he scraped together all that he could get, and brought it off for his own Use. By this Means he returned so rich from *Africa*, that he purchased one of the noblest Dwellings in *Rome* on the Quirinal Mount with spacious Gardens, which to this Day are called the Gardens of *Sallust*: Besides this, he had a Country-

Country-House at *Tivoli*, which *Cicero* upbraids him with in the same Invective. The Remark of *La Mothe* upon this Occasion, is very just: No one ever spoke more handsomely in Defence of Virtue, and particularly of Chastity than he, nor used more rigid Censures against the Excess and Avarice of his Time; and therefore the Infamy of his Actions fell the heavier upon him, because it was consider'd how severely he had exposed those in his History, who were much less guilty of Rapine than himself; and *Metellus*, among others, whose Excesses in *Spain* he laid open with the utmost Freedom and Severity. His Life was very different from his Writings, and his Example alone is sufficient to prove, that as very good Men may write very bad books, so vicious Men may sometimes compose very good; it being not incongruous, that an Author should at the same time be an excellent Historian and a very wicked Man.

HE married *Tèrentia* the Wife of *Cicero*, after her being divorced, which, whether it gave birth to the Feud that was between him and the Orator, or was subsequent to it, and possibly increased it, as I rather believe, remains uncertain; but, as to his Death, we are sure that it happened some few Years after that of *Cæsar*, that he arrived to the Age of threescore and two, and departed his Life in his own Country. His Reputation for Wit and Learning admitted him into the Friendship of the greatest Men of his Age: He was more particularly intimate with *Messala*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Nigidius Figulus*. But *Cæsar* was the Person that had a peculiar Kindness for *Sallust*, who again was a greater Admirer of the other, regarding him as an extraor-



dinary Man, as appears by the two Epistles to the latter, and by the Character drawn of him in *Catiline's* Conspiracy. And yet he seems to have been of a Genius in many respects opposite to *Cæsar's*, to have had different Notions of Government and of Glory, and to give the Preference tacitly to *Cato*.

THIS short Account comprehends the principal Transactions that concern the Life and Morals of *Sallust*; but to attempt a just and particular Character of his Writings, or to collect the Testimonies of Commendation and Praise bestowed upon him in the most polite Ages of Literature, would infinitely exceed the Limits I propose on this Subject. *Tacitus* calls him *Rerum Romanarum florentissimum Auctorem*. *Crispus Romanus primus in Historia*, says *Martial*. *Agellius* in one Place pronounces him, *Subtilissimum Brevitatis Artificem*; in another, *Proprietatum in Verbis retinentissimum*. If it were left to me, says *Lipsius*, I should not doubt to chuse *Sallust* for the President in the College of Historians. And without detracting from *Tacitus* or *Livy*, I will venture to say, those great Authors might have met with less Admiration from the World, had *Sallust* come down to us more intire; but 'twill be remember'd by good Judges, that in these Matters 'tis not the Bulk but the Wit and Judgment that makes the Merit; nor will any of Taste among the Moderns ever disturb his Enjoyment of the Place, allowed him by the best Judges of Antiquity, who put him at the Head of the *Roman* Historians. We are assured by *Suidas*, that one *Zenobius* a *Greek* Sophister took the pains to translate the History of *Sallust* into *Greek*. It is the Judgment of *Seneca*, in one of his

his Declamations, that he surpassed *Thucydides* (whom he professed to imitate) in his concise Way of Writing; and conquer'd him as he speaks in his own Fortification, *Cum sit præcipua in Thucydide Virtus Brevitas, hæc eum Sallustius vicit, & in suis eum Castris cecidit.* We are told by *Spartian*, that *Septimius Severus* at the point of Death, feeling himself subdued by Sickneſs, ſent to his eldeſt Son that divine Oration (as he calls it), which, *Salluſt* makes *Micipſa* at his Death ſpeak to his Children, to perſuade them to mutual Concord and Affection. It is in the Beginning of the *Jugurthine War*.

THE War of *Jugurtha* and the *Catilinarian* Conſpiracy, is all we have compleat of this Hiſtorian. Nothing is left of that excellent Hiſtory, which made him ſtyled the Prince of Hiſtorians, but four Orations and two Epiſtles, collected from the ancient Grammarians and other Writers. The Learned are not agreed, whether the two Orations to *Cæſar*, concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth, belong to *Salluſt*. *Voffius* took them to be genuine, not Orations but Epiſtles. The Oration againſt *Cicero*, though commended by *Fabius* as *Salluſt's*, *Voffius* thought belonged to ſome Declaimer, and was unjuſtly charged upon this Hiſtorian.

THE Criticks have been almoſt diſappointed, and laboured to little purpoſe, to lay any conſiderable Blemiſhes upon the Writings of this Hiſtorian. They would ſay indeed, that he has not been juſt to *Cicero*, in not only omitting his Character, but alſo in paſſing over in Silence Matters of Fact, that would have made for his Glory though in his Account of *Catiline's* Conſpiracy he had a fair Opportunity of mentioning

several. They object, that the Prefaces of *Sallust* have not only little or no Relation to the Pieces to which he has prefixed them, but they are also too long. They may be called, says *La Mothe*, a true Saddle for all Horses; because, as *Quintilian* well observes, they have nothing which relates to the History, nor any thing which renders them more proper for one Composition than another. They urge, that he plundered the *Origines* of *Cato*, for old obsolete Words, and affected to innovate in his Diction and Style; and the most ingenious Father *Le Moyne* complains of his making *Memmius* harangue it, upon no other account than because he was one of the best Speakers of his time. These are the principal Censures that the Labours of *Sallust* have undergone, and after all he will keep his ground, and continue of the foremost of his Order.

HIS Subject is allowed to be great and noble, it treats of Matters of Note and Importance, sifted from every thing trivial or of Levity. He seems (at least for the most part) to have been a disinterested and impartial Writer, to be attach'd to no particular Party, to be free from the Influence of Hope and of Fear, to have made Truth his Favourite and Care, and to have aimed at Certainty, if possible, in all things; insomuch, as for the *Punick* Wars, we are told, he not only examined the Memoirs and Writings of those Countries, but visited many Places in Person, to avoid Mistakes in his Accounts and Descriptions.

BUT 'tis not enough for Historians to produce bare Truth, how important soever; she must also have handsome and becoming Clothes, and  
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the Warmth and Lights of Eloquence must attend her. *Sallust* is admirable in this Particular, and his Structure is animated and enliven'd throughout. There is Life, there is Spirit, there is Energy in his Work ; and his Diction is of the Character of Poesy, wherein he has all the most glowing Colours, though without any thing flaring or improper. *Pontin* has made an agreeable Parallel of the Figures and Manners of Speech in *Sallust*, and some others with the like in *Virgil* ; and shewn that the latter, in many Instances, is not more a Poet than the former. We are almost present in his Battles and Sieges, the Descriptions have such a Life and Vivacity. And we are secretly drawn to interest ourselves in the Event of his Actions and Successes of his Persons.

HE has the Art of drawing the most lively and instructive Portraits of Men. He enters into the Bottom of their Nature, explores the Labyrinths and Recesses of their Souls ; and, with a sort of Anatomy, lays open all the Folds and Doublings of their Spirits. In which Performance, and particularly in the Character given of *Catiline*, he hath let us see there are Qualities to be found in the Mind of Man that may look at first sight inconsistent, yet are not so ; but may reign alternately, if not altogether in the same Persons. And lastly, his Draughts are of that kind, that if they go before the Narration, they prepare us for it, and raise in our Minds an Expectation, in which he never disappoints, that such and such Facts will ensue. But wherever he places them, they agree to, and seem to arise from the Actions of the Persons.



AND as his Images of Men are excelling, his Reflections on Things are as just and solid. He had a Genius capable of comprehending and taking the Height of the greatest Matters. And he passes such Judgments upon them as seem to proceed from a finished Wisdom. I might also mention the Sententiousness of this Historian, wherein there is as much of Poignancy as of Weight. I have said before, his Style approaches the Poetick; and now let me take some notice of its Brevity. There's a certain Frugality, a Continenace in his Language, that he has outdone *Thucydides* himself in; and one of the Topics that *Tacitus* is praised from, is his imitating *Sallust* in this Perfection: Of which none is capable that is not of an accurate and consummate Judgment, nor without a Sort of Temperance of the Mind, and Command over a Man's Spirit. For with all his Thrift and Parsimony of Expression, there's a rich and sufficient Expence of Matter: and 'twas the Talent of this excellent Writer, though of very few other besides him, to come up to his own Remark upon *Cato*, *of dispatching much in a few Words*. Nor does his Conciseness at all lie in making that Garment too scanty for the Body. 'Twas not with the Ideas of his Mind only he was able to measure the greatest Things, he hath also clothed them with a Style and Expression fully adequate and proportioned to their Nature, and has made at once his Thoughts and his Diction accord in Grandeur with the Dignity of his Subject. This is the *Facta Dictis Exæquanda*, which *Sallust* himself has taken notice of, as one of the trying Difficulties of History.

THE *French Critick Rapin* has with great Exactness entered into the particular Accomplishments of this great Historian, and does not forget the chief of his Faults. *Sallust* is noble and sublime in his way of Writing, which made *Quintilian* compare him with *Thucydides*. But the Question is, whether *Sallust's* Style, as stiff as it is, be not more proper for History, and gives not more Force and Weight to the Discourse. Has it not also its Beauties? *Sallust's* Character is to be exact and concise, he is principally to be commended for the Swiftneſs and Rapidity of his Expression, which animates him and gives him ſo much Life. His Deſcription of the Place where *Jugurtha* was defeated by *Metellus*, ſerves to acquaint us the better with the Fight. We ſee by it the Fortitude of the Roman General, as well as the Experience of the King of *Numidia*, in taking all the Advantages of the Ground; and the whole Account of the Fight is better underſtood by the Image of the Place, which the Historian ſets before our Eyes. The Deſcription of *Africa* in *Sallust's* War of *Jugurtha* is too minute and particular. He ſhould not have ſaid ſo much to mark the Bounds of the Kingdom of *Atherbal* and *Jugurtha* then in queſtion. What need was there to deſcribe that vaſt Country, and to diſtinguiſh the particular Manners of ſo many different Nations? *Trogus* charges *Sallust* and *Livy* (and not without a great deal of reaſon) with a wanton and immoderate Exceſs of Harangues in their Hiſtories. And indeed all thoſe Speeches we put in the Mouths of Great Men, carry with them an Air of Falſhood; for from what Memoirs can a Man pretend to have fetched them? And beſides a Warriour never

speaks like an Orator. Therefore Harangues are supposititious, and that which *Sallust* makes *Catiline* speak to the Conspirators, was, in all likelihood secret and extemporary.

THE Harangues of this Historian are admirable, but seldom to the purpose. Nothing can be finer than *Marius's* Speech, it is the foundest Piece of Morality in the World, concerning a noble Birth; every thing there is reasonable, and Antiquity cannot boast of many Discourses, where one may find so forcible Persuasions to Virtue; but that is out of its proper Place.

WE ought to make the Picture of none but important Persons, wherein *Sallust* is faulty; for he gives us the Picture of *Sempronius*, who is but indirectly concerned in the Conspiracy of *Catiline*: He is too prolix, when he inveighs against the Corruption and loose Manners of his time: He is always angry with his Country, and ever discontented with the Government. He gives us too ill an Opinion of the Commonwealth, by his Invectives and Reflections upon the Luxury of *Rome*. Nothing can be more eloquent than the Description of the Condition *Rome* was in when *Catiline* took the Resolution of making himself Master of it. And when that admirable Author represents the Commonwealth corrupted by Luxury and Avarice, and sinking under the Weight of its own Greatness, he uses the most exquisite and eloquent Expressions that can be met with in any History. 'Tis in those Images that a Man of Skill has an Opportunity to shew it, and the Historians of the first Rate are full of those fine Strokes. *Sallust's* Preambles, which are great Speeches full of Sense and

and manly Eloquence, seem to me to carry with them an Air of Affectation. They are generally common Places that have no relation to the History. Perhaps this Author had some Pieces of Reserve, which he employed upon occasion, as *Cicero* used to do. That Method may be proper for an Orator, who speaks often in Publick; but such Precaution is not allowable in an Historian, who is supposed to be Master of himself and of his Time. Among the *Latins*, *Sallust* has a noble Expression, a true Wit, and an admirable Judgment. No Person ever imitated so well the judicious, exact and severe Style of *Thucydides*. He is sometimes stiff in his Expressions, but he never flags; his Conciseness makes him now and then obscure, his Manners are always true, and he gives weight to all that he says. His Sentiments are always fine, although his Morals were bad; for he continually declaims against Vice, and speaks in favour of Virtue.

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*Notis selectis Variorum* & Jac. Palmerii.

Amst. 1690. 8vo.

*Notis integris Variorum* & Josephi Wasse edit.  
nitidiff.

Cantab. 1710. 4to.

*Notis integris doctiss. Virorum curâ*, Sigeberti Havercampi, 2 vol.

Amst. 1742. 4to.

*Editio elegans ex Officinâ Elzevirianâ.*

Ludg. Bat. 1634. 12mo.





## CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

**CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR**, the Son of *Lucius Julius Cæsar* and *Aurelia*, was descended on the Father's Side from *Iulus* the Son of *Æneas*; on the Mother's, from *Ancus Martius*. He was born at *Rome*, during the Consulate of *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, on the twelfth of *July*, about ninety Years before the Nativity. His Genius proved him worthy the Descent; for notwithstanding the Difficulties of a narrow Fortune, his Virtue raised him to that stupendous Height, which few have attempted, none arrived at.

HE was contracted, whilst a Boy, to *Cossutia*, a Lady whose Family, though far from the meanest, was not comparable to her Riches: What Reasons induced him to put her away, and take *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna* in her stead, I do not find. But this Action, *Suetonius* informs us, increased the Hatred *Sylla* bore him on the score of his Affinity to *Marius*, who married his Aunt. At sixteen he lost his Father, and the next Consulate put up to be *Flamen Dialis*, or High-Priest of *Jupiter*; whether he obtained it or no, Authors differ. *Suetonius* affirms he did; *Plutarch* says otherwise, whose Opinion is much the more likely of the two:

for

for *Sylla*, having then the supreme Power in his hands, might with less Trouble have prevented *Cæsar's* being chosen, than turn him out of the Pontificate after he had once gained it by the Suffrages of the People. 'Tis agreed on all hands this Election had like to have proved fatal to him, for his early Ambition roused the Dictator's Jealousies; the Presages he made of him are very remarkable. You consider not, says he to the Persons that were Suitors for *Cæsar's* Life, and urged the Innocency of his Youth, that many *Marius's* are in that Boy.

THUS *Cæsar*, though labouring under the Misfortune of a Quartan Ague, was obliged to hide among the *Sabines*, and remove his Lodgings every Night; yet his utmost Caution could not prevent his falling in sometimes with the Dictator's Parties. Such was the Course of *Cæsar's* Life, till at length *Sylla* yielding to the repeated Instances of *Mamercus Emilius*, *Aurelius Cotta*, and the Vestal Virgins, vouchsafed him a Pardon, though not without the utmost Reluctancy. Take, said he, the fatal Gift you so earnestly desire; but remember, I have foretold you, he will one day prove the Ruin of our Party. This Concession, in a manner extorted from *Sylla*, *Cæsar* judged no sufficient Security for his Person; wherefore, so long as the other was in Power, he continued at as great a distance from *Rome* as possible. He served as a Volunteer in *Asia*, under *Thermus* the Prætor, who sent him to *Bithynia* for the Fleet; where he contracted a Friendship with King *Nicomedes*. Returning from thence, he behaved himself so well at the Siege of *Mitylene*, he obtained a Civic Crown; nor did he give less Proof of his Courage, when

## 132 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

under the Command of *Servilius Isauricus* in *Sicily*, the time he remained there, which was only short. For, on Advice that *Sylla's* Interest declined, he quitted the Camp; but instead of returning to *Rome*, as his Friends desired, took a Voyage for *Rhodes*, where with *Cicero* he became a Hearer of *Apollonius*, *Molon's* Son, a great Rhetorician, designing to render himself equally famous at the Bar and in the Field. In this Study he made no indifferent Progress, and we may easily conclude from the masculine and polite Style of his Commentaries, with that admirable Speech on *Catiline's* Conspiracy, recorded by *Salust*, he might have rivalled *Tully*, had not more important Reasons changed the Lawyer for the Statesman, the Orator for the General; Arts before as incompatible as Empire and Liberty, but reconciled in *Cæsar*.

IN his Passage to *Rhodes* he was taken by the Pirates that infested those Seas, who offered him his Liberty for twenty Talents; but thinking that Sum too small, he added of his own accord thirty more. Dispatching Messengers to raise the Money, he remained their Prisoner forty Days till it came, attended only by his Physician and two Servants. During his Stay amongst them, as an Argument of his Unconcern, he frequently employ'd his time in making Verses and Orations, obliged them to be his Auditors; and if their want of Judgment, or Ill-nature gave him not the Praises he deserved, would threaten in jest to crucify them: which he afterwards performed in earnest, though then it only passed for Raillery and the Effect of juvenile Heat.

THE first Proof he gave of his Excellence in Speaking, was when he accused *Dolabella* of Male-Administration in *Greece*; but lost more by the Enemies he made on that occasion than he gained by the Applause. His second Attempt indeed, against *Publius Antonius* for Bribery, was more successful: he engaged in this Affair to oblige the *Grecians*, and urged the Matter so home before *M. Lucullus*, Prætor of *Macedonia*, that the Defendant was glad to appeal to the Tribunes at *Rome*.

CÆSAR all this while lived far greater than his Patrimony could afford, contracted many Debts, owed thirteen hundred Talents before he obtained any publick Office; and his Enemies, not reflecting to how great Advantage he bestowed his Money, did not descry the Politician through the Prodigal. Still, in vain, they expected when his Credit should sink, till he had discharged the most honourable Employment in the State, and effectually gained his Point, by settling a Character for the most generous, best-humoured Nobleman in *Rome*.

THE first Tryal he made of his Interest, was, when he stood with *C. Popilius* for a Tribunate of the Soldiers, and carried it. Some time after he was chosen Quæstor; but that Year had the Misfortune to lose his Aunt *Julia*, and Wife *Cornelia*. It had always been the Custom, to make Orations on the Decease of grave Matrons, but never on young Women; *Cæsar* however took this Opportunity to shew the Affection he had for his departed Lady, and so well was he beloved by the People, they looked upon the Innovation as the Effect of his Tenderness and Good-nature. But making the Harangue in  
honour



honour of his Aunt's Memory, he produced the Images of her Husband *Marius*, which nobody had ever the Hardiness to do, since the Administration came into *Sylla's* hands, who declared *Marius's* Party Enemies to the State; a politick, bold and happy Attempt! for by this means he revived their drooping Hopes, and made himself Head of that Faction. But *Cæsar* knew the Posture of Affairs was something changed, therefore thought he might safely venture to do his Uncle that Justice, which he afterwards did his Enemy; for when the Civil Wars were decided, thinking it sufficient Revenge to have conquered, he was so far from triumphing over the Misfortunes of his Rival, he restored those Trophies the People had demolished. Upon which Occasion *Cicero* was heard to say, *Cæsar* by setting up *Pompey's* Statues had established his own.

BEING now about twenty-four Years of Age, he began to enter upon Action; and the farther *Spain* was the Theatre, where he attended the Prætor *Fotus*, and acquitted himself with Success. Yet beholding the Statue of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, (whither he went by the Prætor's Command to hold a Convention of the States) he was seized with an extraordinary Melancholy, reflecting what an unactive Life he had hitherto led, whereas that noble *Grecian* by his Age had subdued many Nations. After his Return from *Spain* he married *Pompeia*, less renowned for Virtue than Beauty, witness her Affair with *Clodius*; all *Cæsar's* Accomplishments which enslaved the World, were not sufficient to fix the roving Inclinations of a Woman; nay, so  
impru-

imprudent were her Desires, she must needs appoint the Gallant an Interview at her own Palace, when (*Cæsar* being *Prætor*) she and all the *Roman Ladies* were celebrating those sacred Rites to the *Goddeſs Bona*, where Men were never permitted to be preſent. *Clodius* however was detected and complained of, not only as an Adulterer, but a Prophaner of the Holy Ceremonies; and *Cæſar* thought it high time at once to be rid of his Wife and the Scandal: Yet being ſummoned as a Witneſs againſt *Clodius*, he ſaid, he had nothing to alledge againſt him. Why, then, ſaid the Proſecutors, have you diſmiſſed *Pompeia*? *Be cauſe*, replied he, *I would not have my Wife even ſuſpected*. Thus *Cæſar* was divorced, and *Clodius* acquitted.

FINDING his Generoſity turned to ſo good Account, he ſtill continued to give Proofs of it on all occaſions. Being elected *Ædile*, his Magnificence ſo far excelled his Colleagues, that the whole Honour redounded only to *Cæſar*, whiſt *Bibulus* ſhared the ſame Fate with *Pollux*, the other with *Caſtor*, by whoſe Name alone the Temple in the *Forum* was called, dedicated to both the Brother-Twins.

EVERY Day increaſed the Affection of the People, and *Cæſar* relying on their Favour, put up for the extraordinary Government of *Egypt*, becauſe the *Alexandrians* had expelled their King. He wanted not Suffrages, but *Ptolemy* having formerly been honoured by the Senate with the Name of *Friend*, now found Protection from his Allies. This made the firſt Diſappointment he met with, nor did this diſcourage him from ſtanding ſoon after for the Pontifi-

Pontificate, which became void by the Death of *Metellus*. *Catullus* and *Isauricus*, both Persons of great Interest in the Senate, were his Competitors; the former dreading the Loss of his Honour, privately sent *Cæsar* a considerable Offer to desist, for he had not much to apprehend from *Isauricus*; but he gave him to understand he would himself expend a much larger Sum to carry the Day. When the Time appointed for the Election was come, leaving the House, he told his Mother she should either see him High-Priest that Day, or banished. Thus, probably, had he missed of his Office, his future Hopes had been for ever dashed; but Fortune had not a mind to disoblige the Man for whom she had already cut out so much Business; therefore decided the Cause in his favour by a vast Majority of Votes.

WHEN *Catiline's* Conspiracy broke out, *Cæsar* was Prætor. The Question being put, what should be done with *Lentulus*, *Gethegus*, and the rest of their Faction, after many Senators had voted for putting them to death, he stood up and made an Oration in their favour, which had a strange Effect upon the Audience; till the severe *Cato*, transported with Zeal for the Commonwealth, made a virulent Speech, and insinuated him to be a Party to the Plot, which effectually turned the Scales. Whether *Cæsar* was really concerned in this Affair, or *Cato's* Suspicions were false, has furnished the World with Matter of Dispute, and will for ever remain undetermined.

HE found himself as much hated by the Nobility as beloved by the Commons; for which  
reason:

reason he countenanced the Tribune *Metellus*, when he preferred Laws in favour of the latter; and therefore the Senate deprived him of the Prætorship, but restored it again, and returned him Thanks, when they found he modestly declined doing himself Justice by that Force the People offered him.

HIS Præture ended, *Cæsar* was chosen Governor of the farther *Spain*. His Creditors, who were very numerous, murmured at his Thoughts of leaving *Rome* before they were paid; wherefore, to satisfy the most importunate, he got *Crassus* to be engaged for him, as far as eight hundred and thirty Talents; then pursued his intended Journey. Passing by a small Village on the *Alps*, inhabited by a few miserable Wretches, his Friends in jest demanded, whether he thought the People had any Disputes for Offices, or Feuds about Elections there! No, replied *Cæsar*; but I assure you sincerely, I would rather be the first among these, than the second Man at *Rome*. They tell you likewise, as a farther Instance of his Ambition, he used frequently to repeat two Verses of *Euripides*, which he thus inverted:

*Nam si Violandum est Jus, regnandi gratia  
Violandum est; aliis rebus Pietatem colas.*

*If Violation of the Laws admit  
Of Reason, Empire must the Failing quit;  
In other Things to Piety submit.* }

YET even the sage *Plutarch* agrees, *Cæsar* would have been content with an Equal, *Pompey* would not.

ARRIVING.



## 138 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

ARRIVING in *Spain*, he soon raised a considerable Army, reduced *Portugal* and *Gallicia*, then pushing his Success, advanced higher, and carried his Arms as far that Way as the Ocean would permit. When the Year expired he returned to *Rome*, where he entered as a private Person, and with *Bibulus* was chosen Consul. The great Triumvirs were now agreed, and *Cæsar* marrying his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, and being supported both by him and *Crassus*, he was equal to either of them; and had not the latter's untimely Death in *Parthia* left the other two sole Disputers for the supreme Power, those Wars which cost *Rome* so much Bloodshed had never happened.

THUS *Cæsar* having by the Interest of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, notwithstanding *Bibulus* opposed him, passed such Edicts as made him more popular than before, and discharged the Office of Consul much to his own Satisfaction, obtained the Government of *Illyricum*, and both the Provinces of *Gaul*, where *Plutarch* informs us in nine Years time he took five hundred Towns by Storm, conquered three hundred States, engaged three Millions of Men at several times, killed one third and took another. But for a farther Account of his glorious Exploits in that Country, of his Actions in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Alexandria*, *Asia*, *Afric*, you must consult his Commentaries. Let it suffice to observe here, that so long as *Crassus* and *Cæsar's* Daughter *Julia* lived, *Pompey* and he were in perfect Friendship; the greatest Men at *Rome* made their court to him; *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* Proconsul of *Spain*,  
at

at once attended him at *Lucca*, where one hundred and twenty *Lictors*, and above two hundred *Senators* were present. In short, the Management of Affairs at *Rome* was wholly decided by these three powerful Men. But when *Crassus* died, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* fell out, so the Civil Wars began.

How much Industry, Conduct and Courage, how much Mercy he shewed to his Enemies, and how well he was beloved by his own Soldiers, his excellent Memoirs do abundantly testify. But his Power soon became the Object of Envy, and the People enjoying Peace, and having Leisure to reflect how lavish they had been of their Favours to him, resolved to pull him down; this could not be done without an Assassination; Instruments were quickly found, and the ungrateful *Brutus* became Leader of this Faction. The Senate-House was the Place where this mighty Tragedy was acted, many were the Accomplices, when *Cæsar* having received three and twenty Wounds, expired. He fell on the fifteenth of *March*, in the fifty-sixth Year of his Age, having only survived his Rival four, and founded the *Roman Empire* in his own Blood; for after his Decease the Commonwealth became an absolute Monarchy, the constant Fate of ill-governed Republicks. He triumphed five several Times, for *Egypt*, *Pontus*, *Afric*, *Gaul* and *Spain*, and being declared perpetual Dictator, he rewarded those who had well deserved from his Friendship, and promoted some of his Enemies. He had only the single Failing of Ambition to prove him mortal, yet assuming supreme Authority, was no more than what the Safety of his Person required; for

for otherwise it would have fallen into *Pompey's* Hands, and then the Consequence must have proved fatal to *Cæsar*; but the greatest Use he made of Power was to pardon those that offended him: Many were the Honours decreed his Memory, and his Name was the Title of eleven succeeding Emperors.

THE Name of *Julius Cæsar* is so illustrious, that nothing can be added to the Commendation of his Works, of what Nature soever they are, after it is said he is the Author of them. So that he is not indebted to his military Actions alone for the high Reputation that follows him, since his Learning has no less contributed to it than his Arms; which made *Quintilian* say, that *Cæsar* spoke, writ, and fought with the same Spirit, *Eodem animo dixit quo bellavit*; and that the same happy Genius which favoured all his Victories, animated even his Orations and Writings. He writ like a Man of Quality, and among innumerable Excellencies which he holds in common with other Authors, he possesses this almost peculiar to himself, that you see the Prince and the Gentleman, as well as the Soldier and Scholar in his Memoirs. He had a prodigious Wit, and universal Learning, was noble by Birth, a consummate Statesman, a brave and wise General, and a most heroick Prince. His Prudence and Modesty in speaking of himself, the Truth and Clearness of his Descriptions, the inimitable Purity and Perspicuity of his Style, distinguish him with Advantage from all other Writers, What useful and entertaining Accounts might reasonably be expected from one who gives you the Geography and History of those Countries  
and

and Nations which he himself conquered, and the Descriptions of those military Engines, Bridges, and Encampments, which he himself contrived and marked out? It is observable, that among the Praises which the Antients gave to the Orators of that Time, though they valued much the Sharpness of *Sulpitius*, the Gravity of *Brutus*, the Diligence of *Pollio*, the Judgment of *Calvus*, and the Copiousness of *Cicero*, they admired above all the Vigour of *Cæsar's* Style, *Vim Cæsaris*, as if the same Virtue by which he executed so many military Exploits, had inspired him with that Ardour and Vehemence by which he was always so eminently distinguished from the rest of that Age.

IN his most tender Age he composed *The Praise of Hercules*, and wrote the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, and some other Poems under the Title of *Julii*, which *Augustus* afterwards forbid to be published; it is impossible to determine what the Poem was, called *Iter* by *Suetonius*; but as for that Epigram which some ascribe to him, and others to *Germanicus*, made upon the young *Thracian* who fell into the River *Hebrus*, it is one of the most delicate Pieces of all *Latin* Poetry, and I think cannot be translated.

*Thrax puer astricto Glacie dum ludit in Hebro,  
 Frigore concretas pondere rupit Aquas.  
 Dumque imæ partes rapido traherentur ab anne,  
 Abscidit heu tenerum lubrica testa caput.  
 Orba quod inventum mater dum conderet Urna,  
 Hoc peperit flammis, cætera, dixit, Aquis.*



HIS Fame in Oratory was indisputable, but his Orations for the *Bithynians*, for the Law *Plautia*, for *Decius* a *Samnite*, for *Sextilius*, and many others are lost. His two *Anticatones* shewed what he could do in Satire, and his two Books of *Analogy* gave him no small Place among the most esteemed Grammarians. He wrote some Treatises of presaging by the Flight of Birds, and others of Augury, and some of Apothegms, or short and witty Sentences. But what he published of the Motion of the Stars, which he had learned in *Egypt*, deserves much more to be considered, because it prognosticated his own Death on the Ides of *March*, (if the elder *Pliny* may be credited :) we must not omit the *Ephemerides*, or Journals mentioned by *Servius*, nor the Reformation of the *Kalendar*.

THE Title of those *Commentaries* alone make it manifest that *Cæsar* had no Design to write a compleat History ; they are so naked, says *Cicero*, and stript of all those Ornaments of Oration, which he was very capable to give them, that though they are extremely agreeable in the Condition they are, they are to be taken for nothing else but Notes prepared by him for their Use who would compile a History of his Time ; and though Materials so well provided might have excited some Persons, rash enough to attempt any thing, to try their Skill to refine and polish them, yet all judicious Men have abstained from doing it ; and others that perhaps endeavoured in it, have found themselves altogether unable and unlikely to gain to themselves any Honour, by meddling with a Design framed by so great an Artificer. Yet *Suetonius* makes *Asinius Pollio* accuse him

him of not having been exact enough, and even to have declined sometimes from Truth, so that as the said *Asinius* conjectures, he would have reviewed his Commentaries, and corrected them in many Places.

SOME Criticks have maintained, that neither the three Books of the Civil War, nor the seven of the War of the *Gauls* were writ by *Cæsar*; but such an Opinion is so groundless, that it merits not the least Reflection. As for the eighth Book of the last mentioned Work, most agree that *Hirtius* was the Author of it, who writ also the Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*. Though some ascribe them to *Oppius*, an intimate Friend of *Cæsar*'s, who likewise wrote a Treatise to prove that the Son of *Cleopatra*, which she pretended to have had by the same *Cæsar*, was not of his begetting. *Pliny* the Elder, speaking of the wonderful Abilities of this learned *Roman*, observes that he surpassed the whole World in the Vigour of his Mind, that he has been seen at the same time to read, write, dictate, and hear what was said to him; and adds, that it was common with him to dictate at once to four Secretaries; and when he was not diverted by other Affairs, he usually employed seven to write under him. This Activity of Thought is as if he were something more than human, and indeed the Greatness of his Genius would be judged wholly incomparable, should we imagine it exactly in the Extent of all his Actions. His Writings have been so justly esteemed, that *Selimus* the Great caused them to be translated into *Arabick*; and it is believed that the reading of them, which was no less agreeable than ordinary with him, contributed  
much

much to the Conquest of so many Provinces, with which he augmented the *Ottoman* Empire. And *Henry IV*, that famous Monarch of *France*, took the pains to translate into *French* what related to the War of the *Gauls*, which doubtless was no small Assistance to that heroic Ardour with which that Prince was so eminently inspired.

*XENOPHON*, says *Rapin*, has a soft and delicate Way of writing; his Discourse, like a pure and clear Stream, has no Parallel in all the Works of the Antients, except *Cæsar's* Style, than which nothing was ever writ with greater Purity in *Latin*. I am charmed with his Plainness, and can find no Writer that expresses himself with the same Perspicuity. But *Cæsar*, as plain as he is, has something more noble and lofty in the Plainness and Simplicity of his Discourse, than *Tacitus* in all the Pomp and Stateliness of his Expression. And we meet sometimes with a Negligence in the Antients, better than all the Accuracy and Exactness of the Moderns. *Cæsar's* Narrative is admirable by its Purity and Eloquence, but it is not lively enough, and wants a little of that Force which he used to desire in *Terence*. One cannot be said to write History who barely relates the Actions of Men, without speaking of their Motives; but he is rather like a Gazetteer, who is contented to acquaint us with Matter of Fact, without tracing it to its Spring and Cause: Just as *Cæsar*, who relates simply his Marches and Incampments, without acquainting us with the Motives of them. All his Narration is too plain and naked, however it may be said of him, he only writes Memoirs. *Cæsar* has an Extreme intirely opposite to *Tacitus*. In him you find

find but a plain naked Style, without Tropes and Figures, and destitute of all manner of Ornament. Nothing is so tedious as a Description too nice and minute, which Fault *Cæsar* runs into in his Commentaries: When he describes his warlike Machines, it seems as if that great Captain, whose Reputation in the military Science is so well established, had also a mind to gain that of a good Engineer. There is in that a certain Air of Affectation unworthy so great a Man. In point of Harangues *Polybius* is more discreet than *Demosthenes*; but *Cæsar* is more cautious still, for he seldom makes any of those Speeches, because they do not consist with the Truth of History, and chuses rather to write bare Memoirs, that his Discourse may be more plain. *Cæsar* has been the greatest Master of Expression that ever was. Pedants are in the right, when they admire the inimitable Purity of his Style, but I admire more his good Sense; for never did any Man write with so much Discretion, and he is perhaps the only Author in whom we find no Impertinence. He speaks of himself as an indifferent Person, and is ever constant in the wise Character he has taken upon him.

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*Editio splendidissima, omnes priores longè longèque antecellens, ex recognitione, Notisque Sam. Clarke, D. D. elegantissimis Tabulis æneis ornata.*

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*Eadem editio ad verbum expressa.*

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VOL. II.

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*Ad*



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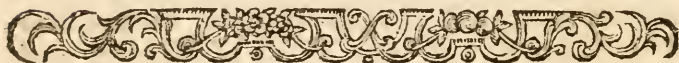
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Lugd. Bat. 1635.



## MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

**M**ARCUS Tullius Cicero was by his Mother *Helvia* descended from a House of note, by his Father uncertain, some making him a *Fuller*, others of the Family of *Tullius Atticus*, King of the *Volsci*. The Name of *Cicero* coming from the Figure of a *Vetch* on the Nose of his Ancestors or of his own, he was persuaded to change it; but he replied, he would make that Name more glorious than those of the *Scauri* and *Catulli*.

It is said his Mother felt no Pain in the Delivery of him, that a Dæmon or Phantasm appeared to his Nurse, and foretold her, that the Child at her Breast should hereafter be beneficial to his Country. And he speedily gave pregnant Pro-

Promises of the Prediction; for on his Application to his Book, he soon excelled all the Boys that were his Schoolfellows, so that Men of great Gravity came to the School, to observe and admire the Pregnancy of his Wit; capable of all Sciences he chiefly discovered a Propensity to Poetry, publishing a Poem when a Boy that is yet extant, and called *Pontius*, or *Pontius Glaucus*. He made an uncommon Progress in Rhetoric and Eloquence. The Credit of his Poetry is lost in the superior Reputation of his Successors in that Art.

HE heard *Philo* in Philosophy, and applied to *Mutius Scævola* in the State Affairs, and the Knowledge of the Law; but to avoid the Trouble of a factious Time, he retired to his Studies, and a learned but private Conversation, 'till *Sylla* had usurped the Commonwealth, and Matters found a sort of Settlement under him. About this Time *Sylla*, by *Cryfogenus* his emancipated Slave, prosecuted *Sextus Roscius Amerinus*, for Parricide, and when all the elder Patrons or Advocates had refused to defend him, *Cicero* undertook the Cause, and argued it with that Eloquence and Intrepidity, that *Roscius* was acquitted.

BUT being sensible that the Applause he gained by this raised *Sylla's* Hatred, he travelled into *Greece*, and retired to *Athens*, as he pretended for the sake of his Health. Here he applied himself intirely to the Study of Philosophy, and made such a Progress as gained him universal Applause.

THE News of *Sylla's* Death, the Recovery of his Health, and the Persuasion of a Friend prevailed with him to return to *Rome*, and the Study of Rhetoric as proper to a Statesman, perpetually

exercising himself in Declamations, and hearing the most celebrated Orators of his Time. From *Athens* he therefore went to *Asia* and *Rhodes*, where he declaimed in *Greek*, at the Desire of *Apollonius*, so admirably, that while all the rest were transported with his Praise, *Apollonius* having sat silently a while, answered *Cicero*, asking his Opinion. That he admired and praised him, but pitied the Fate of *Greece*, to find Arts and Eloquence, which was all that was left her, ravished now from her, and transported to *Rome*.

BEING returned to *Rome*, the *Pythian* Oracle, who had declared that he should arrive at Glory, by making his own Judgment the Guide of his Actions, not the Opinion of the People, made him negligent of publick Affairs, and the Concerns of the Bar; but being overcome by the Importunity of his Father and Friends, he at once shone out the greatest Orator of his Time, though he was obliged to *Roscius* the Comedian, and *Æsopus* the Tragedian for the well-forming of his Action, which afterwards was so excellent, that it did not a little contribute to the Persuasiveness of his Discourses.

BEING Questor in *Sicily* (in a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*) he relieved the Wants of the City, by obliging all the *Sicilians* to vend all their Stock in *Rome*. Which with the Administration of his Province with Care, Justice, Clemency, and general Satisfaction, made him imagine that he established an universal Character; so that meeting an Acquaintance of his in *Campania*, he asked him what the People said of his Actions in *Rome*? *Why*, replied the other, *where hast thou been all this while?* This checked his Vain-glory, and abated

abated his Lust of publick Applause in some measure, though never extinguished his Love of hearing himself praised.

HE was so industrious to obtain the Qualities necessary for a Statesman, that he not only knew the Names, but the Places of Abode, the Lands and Country Seats that the principal Citizens enjoyed. The *Sicilians* made choice of him for their Advocate against *Verres*, whom having cast and fined, the People of *Sicily* made him great Presents when he was *Ædile*, which he turned to the publick, not to his own private Account.

HE had a pleasant Seat at *Arpinum*, a Farm near *Naples*, and another about *Pompeii*. His Wife *Terentia*'s Portion was twelve Myriads, and his own Fortune nine, on which he lived freely and temperately, rarely sitting down to Meat till Sunset. His paternal Seat he gave his Brother, and dwelt himself near Mount *Palatine*, for the Convenience of his numerous Clients; not fewer applying to him for his Eloquence, than to *Crassus* for his Riches, or *Pompey* for his Interest among the Soldiers; that great General paying him a Deference, and owing much of his Authority and Glory to him. He carried the Prætorship from all the Candidates that stood with him, and discharged it with Honour and Applause. And when he stood for the Consulship, both the Nobility and Commons joined in his Election.

AMONG other Things that he did in his Consulship, the Discovery of the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, and the quashing of it by the Punishment of the Conspirators. was the most considerable, for which he had the Title of *Father of his Country*, and was called the *Saviour and Founder of the City*.



For by the Disappointment of this Plot, he delivered his Country from Desolation by Fire and Sword, whence he derived great Authority in the State and with the People.

THOUGH he was something too much given to praise himself, yet he was far from envying others, being very liberal in commending both the Ancients and his Contemporaries *Greek* and *Latin*. *Cæsar* being one of the Prætors, and *Metellus* and *Bestia*, two of the Tribunes, did him all the Indignities they could, by hindering him from speaking his Orations at the Surrender of his Consulship, and would have affronted him more, if *Cato*, one of the Tribunes, had not stood by him, and prevented their Attempts. His sharp Reflections, Repartees, and Jests upon the People, had made him some Enemies, but none could hurt him till the Faction of *Clodius* prevailed. *Clodius* had been of *Cicero's* Party, and very useful to him in the Conspiracy of *Catiline*; but *Terentia*, *Cicero's* Wife, supposing that *Clodia* the Sister of *Clodius* had a mind to marry *Cicero*, prevailed with him to give Evidence against him when prosecuted for violating the Rites of the *Bona Dea* in *Cæsar's* House, for the sake of *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, with whom *Clodius* was in love. He urged strongly in his Defence, that he was out of *Rome*; but *Cicero* proved that he was at his House that very Morning. However, by Bribes *Clodius* comes off, and resolves to discharge all his Rage and Revenge against *Cicero*, being chosen Tribune of the People, though of the Patrician Order, for he was of a great Family. He bribed the Consuls, by giving them good Provinces, as *Macedonia* to *Piso*, and *Syria* to *Gabinus*;

nus; and of three great and powerful Men, *Craſſus* was his Enemy, *Cæſar* was going with his Army into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* indifferently careſſed both; but when *Cicero* had enraged *Cæſar*, by reſuſing to go his Lieutenant, as he himſelf had deſired, *Pompey* on his account would neither aſſiſt nor ſee *Cicero*, when he came to his Houſe to apply for his Aſſiſtance.

THUS *Clodius* preferred an Accuſation againſt him, for putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to Death illegally, for which *Cicero* put on Mourning and ſupplicated the People; and with him joined almoſt all the Equeſtrian Order, twenty thouſand young Gentlemen appearing for and with him in Mourning; *Clodius* at the Head of a ſcandalous Rabble abuſing him, and throwing Stones at him. The Senate themſelves met to paſs a Decree that the People ſhould put on Mourning, as in a Time of publick Calamity, but were hindered by the Conſuls.

AT laſt, by the Advice of his Friends, *Cicero* went out of *Rome*, guarded by them, about Midnight, and paſſed through *Lucania* on foot, deſigning for *Sicily*. *Clodius* no ſooner heard of his Flight, but he publiſhed a Decree of Exile, interdicting him Fire and Water, and prohibiting any within five hundred Miles of *Rome* to receive him into their Houſes. He paſſed at laſt by Sea to *Dyrrhachium*, and ſo into *Greece*. This factious Tribune having thus driven *Cicero* out of *Italy*, burnt his Villas and City Houſe, building in its place a Temple to *Liberty*, and expoſed his Goods to Sale; and not contented with theſe Outrages, he fell upon *Pompey*, who now repented that he had deſerted *Cicero* ſo ungratefully, and therefore

applied his utmost Interest to have him recalled from Banishment. *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, joining with him, they quashed *Clodius*, and passed a Decree of the Senate and of the People for recalling him, it being the most unanimous of any they had ever passed. His Villas and House were rebuilt at the publick Charge, and he was restored sixteen Months after he was sent into Exile.

*CICERO* after this goes to the Capitol. and destroys the Tribunitian Records of the Acts passed in the Tribuneship of *Clodius*, as being against the Law, since he was of the Patrician Order. Soon after *Milo* kills *Clodius*, and being to be tried for it, chose *Cicero* for his Advocate, who being affrighted at the Forum's being surrounded with Arms, *Milo* himself encouraged him. He was found guilty, but his appearing so confident, and without Mourning, was one of the principal Causes of his Condemnation. He was after this made one of the Augurs, and having *Cilicia* by Lot, he sailed thither with a competent Force, and governed with Clemency and Moderation, and among other Actions which gained him Applause, he drove out the Bands of Robbers who infested the Mountain *Amanus*, for which his Soldiers saluted him *Imperator*.

LEAVING his Province, he touched at *Rhodes*, staid a little at *Athens*, saw his old Friends, and then returned to *Rome*, where being offered a Triumph, he refused it; but things were now all in a Ferment, and coming to an open Rupture, he interposed as Mediator between *Pompey* and *Cæsar* as much as there was Room, but the Wounds

Wounds being incurable, and *Cæsar* approaching *Rome*, after great debate with himself which Side to take, he followed *Pompey*, with the Senators and great Men that were with him, *Cæsar* being now gone into *Spain*. He was welcome to all but *Cato*, who advised him to remain neuter, and govern himself by the Event of Things, for the Good of the Commonwealth.

AFTER the Battle of *Pharsalia* (in which *Cicero* for want of Health was not) he returned from *Dyrrhachium* to *Brundisium*, having very narrowly saved his Life from the Swords of young *Pompey* and his Friends, for refusing to join their Army. *Cato* preserved him at this time, and saw him safe out of the Camp. *Cæsar* coming at last from *Egypt*, he went out to meet him, received from him all imaginable Honour, and conversed alone with him for many Furlongs. When *Cæsar* had resolved not to pardon *Ligarius*, he went to hear what *Cicero* could say for him; though he declared nothing could mollify his Resentment, yet when he heard him, he dropt his Papers, and vowed that he was vanquished by his Eloquence.

THE Republick being now changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* applied himself wholly to Philosophy, publishing many philosophical Dialogues, and finding out *Latin* Terms of Art for those of the *Greeks*. He spent all his Time at his Villa near *Tusculum*, seldom going to Town, unless to pay his Court to *Cæsar*, whose Honours he was the first that voted for, coining always new Compliments and Praises of his Person and Actions. He had a Design of writing the



History of his Country, intermingling the Affairs of *Greece* both real and fabulous, but was prevented by public or domestic Troubles. *Terentia* had not only neglected him, and never came near him at *Brundisium*, but had not furnished his Daughter with necessary Expences for her Journey to him, had left him an empty House, and ran him very much in Debt, for which Considerations he put her off. But *Cicero* not long after married a beautiful young Lady with a great Fortune, which relieved him from the Importunity of his Creditors. This was soon succeeded by the Loss of his Daughter in Childbed, which produced so great a Grief in him, that all his philosophical Friends applied to remove his Sorrow, and administer Comfort to him.

HE was not concerned in the Conspiracy against *Julius Cæsar*, though he was so great a Confidant with *Brutus*, his Old Age and timorous Temper deterring them from admitting him into the Secret. After the Assassination, he proposed in the Senate an Act of Oblivion, and that Provinces should be allotted to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but *Anthony* being Consul, and burying *Cæsar*, made such a Speech to the People, and so touched their Compassion, by shewing them the bloody Garments of *Cæsar*, that they mutinied, and ran to the Houses of the Conspirators, who being fled, *Anthony* was so elated, as to behave himself as if he had Thoughts of assuming the Government; he was therefore uneasy at *Cicero*, whom he looked upon as a Friend to *Brutus*, and Liberty. He had therefore gone with *Delabella* to *Syria*, but *Hirtius* and *Pansa* being designed

designed Consuls the next Year, prevailed with him to divert his Journey to *Athens*, where he said he would stay till their Consulates began; but again over-persuaded by his Friends, he returned to *Rome*, and was so received by the People and Senate, that the Ceremonies of his Welcome at the City Gates took up almost a whole Day.

*OCTAVIUS* coming to *Rome* from *Apollonia*, and falling out with *Anthony* about Moneys left him by *Julius*, he applied himself to *Cicero* upon this Occasion, who espoused his Cause against *Anthony*, and he insinuated himself so far into young *Cæsar*, that he called him *Father*. The Power of *Cicero* being now at the highest, he had driven *Anthony* out of *Rome*; but *Octavius* soon after unites with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, and by a Proscription he most barbarously and ungratefully gave up *Cicero* to *Anthony*, though it is said he contended three Days to preserve him.

*CICERO* hears of his Proscription at his House near *Tusculum*, his Brother *Quintus* being with him; in their Letters they immediately make for a Country House of *Cicero's*, near the Sea, called *Astura*, but Provisions being short, it was agreed that *Quintus* should go back for Necessaries, and *Cicero* go on. *Quintus*, a few Days after, betrayed by his Servants, was slain; and *Cicero* being carried to *Astura*, and finding a Vessel ready, went immediately on board, and having sailed as far as *Circium*, he came on shore, and travelled a little way toward *Rome*; then he turned back to the Sea, and his Servants carried him to *Capua* by Water; when arriving at his Villa, his Servants resolved not to see him

## 156. *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

murdered, and for that purpose carried him away again in his Litter ; but the Assassins being come, and having broke open his Doors and mis-  
sed him, no body owned they knew any thing of him, till *Philologus*, the emancipated Slave of *Quintus*, who was educated by *Cicero* in the liberal Arts and Sciences, told *Herennius* the Centurion, and *Popilius* the Tribune, (whom *Cicero* had defended from an Accusation of Parricide) that he was gone down the shady Road to the Sea. The Tribune watching with the Guard the Place where he was to come out, *Cicero* perceiving him running to the Walks after him, commanded his Servants to set down the Litter ; so looking stedfastly on the Murderer, all besides covered their Faces, whilst *Herennius* cut off his Head and Hands, which he carried to *Anthony*, who received them with an insulting Smile, and ordered them to be fastened over the *Rostrum*, where he had pronounced his *Philippics* against him.

THE Merit and Character of *Cicero* are so transcendent, that all the learned Men of Antiquity have looked upon him as a Prodigy. This great Orator had the Benefit and Advantage of an excellent Education. His Parents having discovered in him a natural Inclination to Study, took extraordinary Care of him ; but though at those early Years, when other Children are not capable of applying themselves to any thing, he shewed an extreme Desire to learn, yet his Father thought it most adviseable to keep him back, rather than to push him on, at which *Cicero* seemed not a little dissatisfied and impatient, especially when he saw some of his Companions study  
under

under one *Plotius*, a Master then in repute. His Father however was much to be commended in this Restraint, well knowing that too early an Application to Study, by endeavouring to ripen the Understanding before the Season, may weaken Nature, but will never bring her to Perfection.

HIS Father and best Friends were of Opinion that the *Greek* Tongue was the fittest for a young Man to begin with, and therefore made him first enter upon the Study of that. All the great Men that came to *Rome* between the Time of *M. Scævola's* Consulship, and the End of *Sylla's* Dictatorship, were his Masters, as that *Phædrus* he commends so much in his Epistles, and that *Philo* the Academic, whom he mentions in his Book *De Natura Deorum*: As *Molo*, the *Rhodian*, whose Eloquence was very celebrated, and under whom he studied at two several times; and a certain *Sicilian* called *Diodotus*, a great Geometrician, of whom he learned Logic, and whom he speaks of in his *Tusculan* Questions. Thus at the Age of seventeen or eighteen Years, he had ran through with incredible Expedition, the almost infinite Extent of all the Sciences which might be any way useful to him in making himself Master of Eloquence, which he so passionately affected.

As soon as he had conquered the Difficulties of the *Greek* Tongue, he applied himself to Poetry, to which he had an early and strong Inclination; at seventeen Years of Age, in order to accomplish himself in Geometry, he translated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which we have some considerable Fragments still left. He translated likewise not  
long



long after *Plato's Timæus*, and his *Protagoras*, the *Oeconomics* of *Xenophon*, and several other Pieces : *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very first Years he discovered a Genius peculiar for all the Sciences, such as *Plato* requires in the Philosopher he forms an Idea of, who ought to be, says he, a Lover of all kind of Knowledge. It was after this Manner *Cicero* spent his Time till he was twenty-six Years of Age, at which Period he began to speak in publick. All the most celebrated Lawyers fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refused to undertake *Roscius* his Case, who was accused of Parricide ; the Success of this Action was the first Step to his future Glory, but it made too much Noise not to be looked upon by *Sylla* with a jealous Eye, and by *Chrysogonus* with meditated Revenge ; for this Freedman, who had made himself Master of him that was Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Persecution which ended not till the Dictator's Death.

BEING forced to leave *Rome* to avoid the Storm he saw ready to break upon him, he artfully spread abroad a Rumour that he did it upon the Advice of his Physicians, who told him Travel would contribute to his Health. He retired to *Athens*, where he applied himself again to the Study of Eloquence, and received new Instructions in that Art from a certain Syrian Orator named *Demetrius*. This ardent Desire after Knowledge put him, in a little while after, upon travelling into *Asia*, to be there instructed by the most famous Men in every Science ; among whom was *Menippus* of *Caria*, the best Orator of his Time, *Æschylus* of *Cnydia*, *Dionysius* of *Magnesia*,

*Asia*, *Xenocles*, *Possidonius*, and some others. About the same Time he met with *Apollonius Molon* in *Rhodes*, who had formerly been his Master in *Italy*. In this Voyage he learnt *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, the old and new *Philosophy*, the *Theology* of the heathen Religion, the *Customs* of *Athens*, and all the *Laws* of *Greece*. He studied the *Morality* of the *Stoicks* under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who in defiance to *C Carneades*, opposed the new *Academicks*, instructed him in the *Opinions* of the *Antients*, and *Zeno* and *Phædrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he has since so much condemned in his *Writings*. And at last, after the *Death* of *Sylla*, he returned to *Rome*, with a *Mind* enriched with all sorts of *Knowledge*, and a *Body* restored to perfect *Health*, by the *Exercise* he had used in travelling.

The Advantage that consists in the Agreeableness of an Orator's Person, and of his Dress, one would imagine to be very inconsiderable, and yet they are certainly of very great Importance. *Cicero* had the Happiness of a handsome Face, a good Voice, a pleasing Address, a commanding Presence, and a genteel Agreeableness in all respects; *Plutarch* assures us, that he was so amiable in his tender Years, that the Fathers of those he studied with took a Delight in seeing him at School. He was very decent in his Cloaths, and very polite in his Dress, even to Affectation. He loved Perfumes, and a genteel Table, and as he was very pleasant in Conversation, he delighted in Entertainments, and was always very agreeable Company with his Friends. His Raillery was fine and delicate,  
and

and he managed all his Business with such an Address, that in the most serious Consultations he would frequently mingle so much of light Conversation as was enough to refresh the Mind, without diverting it from what it was intent upon. This is the proper Character of that *Urbanity* of which he gives us the Precepts in his Treatise *De Oratore*. And tho' it be somewhat difficult at this distance to judge of the Wit he there proposes for our Imitation, in several Examples of the fine Turn of Words, yet it is certain that he was very good at it himself, since *Cato*, as grave as he was, and as much a Stoick as he was, after having heard *Cicero* ridicule the Morality of the Stoicks, in that Oration of his for his Friend *Muræna*, could not forbear laughing, and saying, *I must needs confess we have a very pleasant Consul.*

*CICERO* was liberal, and that even to excess, but he took not so much Care in laying out his Mouey upon Things that made a great Noise in the World. All his Expences were great, and upon noble Accounts, and proceeded more from his Temper and Disposition, than from any politick Design he had in them. He is reckoned to have had eighteen Country Seats, all very magnificent, stately built, and splendidly furnished; indeed he was not Master of so many Houses at once; the chief of them were the *Tusculane*, the *Formiān*, that at *Caietta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and that he had near *Cumes*. Neither was it so much out of Pride that he affected this Pomp, though it must be confessed he was a little vain, as out of a Nobleness of Soul which sought the Esteem of a People that

that did not in the least disrelish any thing that was sumptuous, so it were supported by Wealth honestly procured.

NEVER was any Person born in a more happy Time for Eloquence than *Cicero* ; he came into the World when the *Roman* Empire was in its flourishing State, when all Knowledge was come to its Perfection, and in an Age the most refined and polished that ever was. Nature began with adorning his Body with all those Graces that could make him lovely, and with furnishing his Mind with all those natural Qualities that were proper to render him an extraordinary Person. His Melancholy, which, according to *Aristotle*, is the common Temper of great Wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy, and what is very unusual, there was never any one single Person that was Master of so much solid Reason, and had so much Vigour and Vivacity at the same time. Those vast Stores of Knowledge, and those immense Treasures of Learning with which he had with so much Care and Labour replenished his Mind, added Weight and Authority to all he spoke, and made him deliver himself with all the Solidity that can be imagined.

BUT besides this Solidity, which includes so much Sense and Prudence, he had a certain Spriteliness of Wit, a peculiar Grace which gave an Embellishment to all he said, so that whatever was the Product of his Imagination and Fancy, he gave it a fine Turn, and made it appear in the most agreeable Colours. Whatever he treated of, whether it were the most abstruse Questions of *Dialect*, the most barren Parts of  
natural



natural Philosophy, or the most perplexed intricate Cases of the Law, whatever came within the Compass of his Discourse, though never so entangled, did still share of that Gaiety of Spirit, and of those Graces that were so natural to him. Never any one had the Talent of writing so judiciously, and so agreeable at the same time; never any one yet had the Art of mixing so much good Sense, and so much good Wit together.

AFTER all, the principal Perfection of his Eloquence was his admirable Talent of affecting the Heart upon pathetic Subjects, by that wonderful Art of moving the Passions, the Ground and Foundation of which he had from Nature, and which he so well improved by a constant Study of *Aristotle's* Rhetorick. *Cicero* was Master of this commanding Eloquence in so eminent a Degree, that in Cases of Importance, when several Orators were to plead, he had always those Parts assigned him in which he might be most pathetical, because he had greater Success in that Kind than all others of his Profession. It was his sovereign Perfection to be moving, and to make Impressions upon the Minds of his Judges by the Turns of his Eloquence. And in this he had that wonderful Success, that sometimes he would force Sighs and Tears from all that stood round the Bar. These strange Effects proceeded from a singular Art he had of working and insinuating himself into the Heart through the Mind, where by the Force of his Reasonings he was able to sow those Seeds, from whence those ardent Motions sprang which he made use of to shake the Resolutions of all that heard him.

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THAT he arrived to this Height of Perfection is principally owing to the Qualities of his natural Temper and Disposition ; for he had a very tender Soul, and a soft passionate Air. The Graces of his Delivery and Pronunciation gave him a very easy Admittance into the Hearts of his Audience, who finding themselves surprized by so many Charms, had not the Power to make Resistance. But to all these natural Beauties, he likewise added an infinite Number of artificial ones, which he displayed throughout his whole Discourse by an Eloquence embellished with all the Figures and Ornaments of Speech. And yet his Metaphors are neither too dazling, nor too hard ; his Discourses run easy and natural, neither forced nor far-fetched, his Figures are ranged and disposed in their proper Places. His Thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine whether he was more happy in chusing than expressing them.<sup>1</sup>

It would be impossible in this Design to transcribe the Opinions of all the Men of Learning upon the Eloquence and Character of this admirable Orator. *Julius Cæsar*, as *Quintilian* relates, says, that *Cicero* triumphed oftener by virtue of his Eloquence, than all the rest of the *Romans* by their Arms. *Augustus* in *Plutarch* declares he was a most accomplished Orator ; *Hortensius* testifies, that he was wonderfully qualified to move the Hearts of his Audience. His Eloquence, says *Aufidius Bassus*, was so extraordinary, that he seemed born for the Safety and Preservation of the Commonwealth. *Titus Livius*, in a Fragment of his which we find in *Seneca's* Declamations, says, that never any Person had gained so much Admiration by his Eloquence

quence as *Cicero*, that he was happy in his Works, and in the Recompence and the Reward of them; *Paterculus*, that no one could be a Master of Eloquence in Perfection but he that had been conversant with *Cicero*; *Pliny* the Historian, that no Mortal can be compared to him; *Quintilian*, among many other Commendations of his with which his Books are full, declares, that this great Man was a Gift from Heaven, in whom Eloquence took a Delight to display all its Power, and to unfold all its Riches, and that it was a Shame not to yield when he persuaded. I mention not that famous Epigram which *Catullus* made in praise of *Cicero's* Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* says in commendation of him in his eighth Satire, *Martial* in the third and fifth Book of his Epigrams, *Cornelius Severus* in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epistles, *St. Jerom* in his Epistles to *Nepotian*, and in many other Places of his Works. I shall pass over in silence the Elogies of *Aurelius Victor*, *Cassiodorus*, and an infinite Number of others, who have done themselves immortal Honour by the Praises they have bestowed upon this great and wonderful Man.

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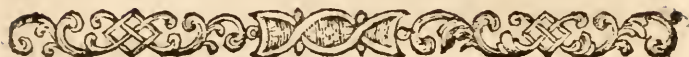
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## CORNELIUS NEPOS.

**CORNELIUS NEPOS** has had the good fortune to please the most judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is strangely unhappy; that having been so industrious in immortalizing other Men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Historians, he himself has been almost forgotten; and we have very little left us concerning him. To add to the Misfortune, his excellent Treatise of *the Lives of Illustrious Men*, which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, has by some very ill Judges been attributed to an obscure Person, one *Æmilius Probus*, who lived in the barbarous Age of *Theodosius*.

HE flourished before and after *Cæsar's* Dictatorship. *Jerom* places him in the fourth Year of *Augustus*. He was born in *Hostilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*, whereof *Pliny* and *Antonine* in his Itinerary make mention; and is at this Day subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of *Verona*. This City lies near the *Po*, upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Padi Accola*. It is situated likewise in that Part of *Italy*, which the *Romans* (for with us it is otherwise) called *Italia Transpadana*, that part of *Italy* which

which is on the other side the *Po*; so that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his excellent Poems to *Cornelius Nepos*, might very justly call him an *Italian*. But because the same Country was called *Gallia Togata*, (or that Part of *Gaul* wherein *Gowns* were worn, in opposition to *Gallia Braccata*, so named from the Garments of the barbarous Inhabitants); *Ausonius*, alluding to *Catullus's* fore-mentioned Epigram, tells his *Pacutus*, That he had found a more learned and obliging Patron, than *Gaul* furnished *Catullus* with; but these two Poets may be easily reconciled, considering that the same Place was, with different respects, reckoned Part both of *Gaul* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veronese*, was the constant Opinion of that City, where, in the Senate-House, his Statue was erected among those of the illustrious Men born there. *Verona* has indeed produced as great Wits and as learned Men in all Faculties, as any City, perhaps, in the World. Here were born the two *Plinys*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect; and in later times that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracastorius*, the best Physician, Mathematician and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was born in a Place famous for polite Learning, so likewise in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Style were advanced to their utmost Perfection; in that Age which the Critics call the *Golden Age of Eloquence*. Now, to be considerable in such a time as this, to be infinitely esteemed and caressed by the greatest Persons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. *Gellius* styles him *Cicero's* Friend, and Familiar; and there was a constant Intercourse  
of

of Letters between them. *Catullus*, the most accurate and delicate Epigrammatist that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Julius Cæsar*, takes notice of a Letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*; and *Lactantius* quotes an Epistle of *Nepos* to *Tully*: Nay, their Epistolary Commerce was so great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the second Book of Epistles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His Intimacy with *Atticus*, is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, annexed to his Lives of excellent Generals; for *Atticus* himself was so far from being one, that he never engaged in the War either for *Cæsar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very few of that Humour ever met with) to be honoured, esteemed and unmolested, through the whole Course of his Life.

HE left many learned and curious Works behind him, which the Injury of Time hath deprived us of; and we have only just enough left us to see the Greatness of our Loss in the rest. He was Author of a Book which he called his *Chronicle*, wherein (in three distinct Volumes) he gave an Account of those three great Intervals of Time, which Historians so much talk of: The *Obscure* and *Uncertain*, the *Fabulous*, and the *Historical* Ages of the World. As to the first and second, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn*, but what was a Man; and *Ausonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he sent him *Titianus's* Fables and *Nepos's* Chronicles, which were not much unlike them. And *Catullus*, in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *Omne Ævum tribus explicare Chartis*.

BESIDES this great Work, he writ the Lives  
of

of illustrious Men ; of which twenty-two, which respect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are transmitted to us ; and likewise the Lives of the *Roman* Heroes (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But what through the Invasion of foreign Nations, and the Ignorance and Carelessness of superstitious Monks, who let them lie and rot unobserved in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors which have had the good Fortune to survive. *Æmilius Probus* hath, by some Criticks, been supposed to be the Author of the Lives of Foreign Generals ; but it is a palpable Mistake, occasioned by an Epigram prefixed to some ancient Manuscripts of this Author ; wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodosius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus* ; but then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manus est Genetricis Avique meique* ; that is, his own Hand, his Mother's and Grandfather's were concerned in this Work : Whence it is clear, beyond Contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Transcriber. Besides, what Man of common Learning and Sense can persuade himself, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this most delicate and judicious Piece of History ? The Cleanness and Terseness of the Expression undeniably prove, that the Author of this Book lived in the Age of *Julius* and *Augustus* ; and besides all this, there are forty Places in the Lives themselves, that prove *Nepos* was their Author, and lived in the Age aforesaid ; for which, if you please, consult *Lambin*.

BUT *Nepos* hath not been more abused by ascribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of some Pieces wholly unworthy of



him. The Book of *eminent Romans* is falsely ascribed to him; it is altogether *Aurelius Victor's*. Many things, I doubt not, were taken out of *Nepos* by *Victor*. Nor was *Dares Phrygius* translated from the *Greek* by *Nepos*. The Spuriousness of this Author is visible to any one who has any Judgment in Learning. The Diction is not *Augustan*, but of a much more modern Date. *Nepos*, in the Judgment of some Men, lived after the *Nativity*; but if it be considered how celebrated he was for his Learning in the Days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, there will be no great reason to fall in with this Opinion.

*CORNELIUS NEPOS* lived in an Age that had the greatest Taste of good Sense of any, possibly, since the Creation. Eloquence did not then consist in the gaudy trimming of Metaphors, or the forced Acuteness of a short cut Period; but good Sense naturally and cleanly expressed, was the Language *Augustus* and his Court encouraged. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeness of *Cicero*, but yet he has nothing but what is manly and strong; and there runs through his Writings a genteel Vein of speaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man removed above the Pedant or *Plebeian*. It must be confessed, he is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the Expression, but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be sometimes a Beauty; and it is the Opinion of most Critics, that if there be any Fault in *Tully* himself, it is that he is too set and formal in his Style. There are some Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts and the Mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleasing; while on the other hand there are others in which Nature

seems

seems to have made agreeable Mistakes. Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal Observance of Exactness is disgustful. There is as much Difference between the genteel Practice of Rhetorick and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the Attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the genteel Address of a Gentleman and the fulsome Compliment of a School-master. Such is the Style of *Cornelius Nepos*, which has fixed him in the favour of the best Judges.

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EDITIONS of CORN. NEPOS.

*Commentariis* Dion. Lambini, *editio elegans.*

Parif. 1569. 4to.

*Notis Variorum, ac nummis illustratus.*

Lug. Bat. 1675, & iterum Amst. 1704. 8vo.

*Editio nitida, notis* Gul. Adams.

Oxon. 1697. 8vo.

*Ad usum sereniss.* Delphini *editus est.*

Parisiis, 1675. 4to.

*Notis integris variorum* & Corn. Van Staveren.

Lud. Bat. 1730. 8vo.



## TITUS LIVIUS.

Posterity has been left much in the dark, as to the Particulars of *Livy's* Life; whether he was of a studious Constitution, and destined to live retired in Silence and Obscurity: certain it is we know very little of his Origin, his Employment, his Adventures or the Condition of his Life in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*; contrary to *Sigonius's* Opinion, who would have him born near that Town called *Apona*, producing for this the pretended Testimony of *Martial* in one of his Epigrams. It is plain too, he was of an honourable Family, since it had the honour of sending out Consuls to the *Roman* Commonwealth. That he lived under the Empire of *Augustus*; that he dedicated some Dialogues to him, upon the Questions debated in those Times relating to Philosophy, whereby he got into that Emperor's Acquaintance and good Opinion; that he after wrote a Treatise of Eloquence to his Son, which *Quintilian* made great account of; that he began his History at *Rome* for the Convenience of such Memorials as were necessary, which were recorded in the Annals in the Capitol, and for the better distinguishing Truth from fabulous Traditions, wherewith the Originals of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired some time after  
to

to *Naples*, to avoid Disturbance in his Study ; that he recited to *Augustus* and *Mecænas* some Parts of his History, whereby they were sensibly affected ; that *Augustus*, upon the Esteem he conceived of him, made choice of him for a Tutor to form the Mind of his young Son *Claudius*, who was afterwards Emperor.

AFTER the Death of *Augustus* he returned to *Padua*, where the Citizens received him with extraordinary Honours. He died in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the very Day of the Calends of *January*, which was the last of *Ovid's* Life, according to the Observation of *Eusebius* in his Chronicles. His abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Augustus*, gave him opportunity of furnishing himself with Knowledge necessary to his Design. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, no less than an Universal History of the *Roman* Empire, so fixed him to his Closet, and gave him so little Disquiets for the Concernments of his Fortune, that his Life thereby became somewhat obscure ; since he was obliged to sequester himself from a more publick Conversation, and live private, that he might give himself wholly up to the grand Work he had in hand. He must needs have had a Soul prodigiously great, to form the Project of so vast and laborious an Enterprize ; for whatever Genius a Man has, it is only a Greatness of Spirit can produce those exalted and generous Sentiments that make the Beauty and Excellency of a noble Work.

*LIVY* was certainly one of the worthiest Men of all Antiquity ; you would conclude from his Air of speaking, that he knew not what Vanity



was. He has not only never spoken of himself, nor any thing that belongs to him in his History; but likewise we had been ignorant in what time he wrote, had it not been for a Word that by chance escaped him, concerning the Temple of *Janus*, which was *now* shut, says he, by *Augustus*, having been so but once before since the Reign of *Numa*. He began his History in a Strain of Modesty, which seems to me so admirable, that I cannot believe a discreeter Author ever appeared in the World. See the Scope of that History, which has been the most absolute Master-piece of Antiquity, and the Admiration of all Ages: “I am  
 “ uncertain, whether the History I write of the  
 “ Actions of the *Roman* People since the Founda-  
 “ tion of *Rome*, will be a Work worth any Con-  
 “ sideration; and though I were persuaded of it,  
 “ I durst not say it, for it is a matter, &c.” The rest of the *Exordium*, which I offer not to copy, since it is in the hands of all Men, is answerable to the Beginning, and is sufficient to shew the Spirit of the Author.

HIS Sincerity likewise underwent the severest Trial that possibly could be without being corrupted. The Reputation he was in with *Augustus*, and that Favour to which he had advanced him, were not Motives sufficient to hinder his speaking honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but also of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the greatest Enemies of that Emperor; honouring the Memory of the Conquered in the Face, as one may say, of the Conqueror; and recommending to the World, as honest Men, the Murderers of *Cæsar* in the Presence of *Augustus*, because they were Lovers of their own Country. It is this which *Crematius Cordus* thought impossible

impossible to be sufficiently praised in *Livy*, as we are assured by *Tacitus*. Such was *Livy* for his moral Accomplishments, and what respects his Person ; and it seems that something had been wanting to the Glory, or rather the Good-fortune of a People that was Master of the World, had they failed of so great a Man for their Historian. It is that which doubtless occasioned that famous Inscription found at *Padua*, in the Year One Thousand Four Hundred and Thirteen, in the Church of St. *Justina*. *Ossa Titi Livii Patavini, omnium Mortalium Judio digni, ejus propè invicti Calamo, invicti Populi Romani res gestæ conscriberentur.*

THE Roman History of *Livy* was published when *Augustus* was living, and is supposed to have employed the Historian twenty Years or more, in making it compleat. The original Number of Books were an hundred and forty-two. There are only thirty-five left. The Epitomes of this History, from which we learn the Number of the original Books, are extant, except the Epitomy of the hundred and thirty-sixth and the hundred and thirty-seventh Book. It has been thought, these Epitomes have contributed much to the Loss of the Originals. *Glareanus*, and others, have divided the Originals into fourteen *Decades*; that is, one hundred and forty Books. The first *Decade*, says *Glareanus*, treats of the Affairs of four hundred and sixty Years. The second *Decade* is lost: The Years of this *Decade* are seventy-five. The third *Decade* contains the second *Punic War* under *Hannibal*, including eighteen Years. The fourth *Decade* contains the *Macedonian War* against *Philip*, and the *Asiatic War* against *Antiochus* ;

*tiochus* ; which takes up the Space of about twenty-three Years. The first five Books of the fifth *Decade* were found at *Worms*, in the Year Fourteen Hundred and Thirty-one. These are all the Books left of *Livy's* History. The thirty-third Book was found at *Mentz*, but defective in the Beginning ; as appears from the Epitomy, and what follows in *Livy*. The five Books of the fifth *Decade* are very defective. *Erasmus* tells us, the Archetype was written in such a continued Series of Letters as the Ancients used to write in, that it required a learned, attentive and skilful Person to separate the Words from each other ; and he observes this half *Decade* is certainly *Livy's*, from the Diction and Epitomies to which it exactly answers.

*PETRUS CRINITUS* will not allow *Livy's* History was divided by *Livy* into so many *Decades*, since nothing of this can be gathered from the Ancients. *Priscian* and other Grammarians in their Quotations of *Livy*, mention the Books, but say nothing of the *Decades*. Nor does the Number of the Books agree with the Division ; for fourteen *Decades* make but one hundred and forty Books, whereas *Petrarch* asserts, *Livy* wrote one hundred and forty-two. *Cælius Rhodiginus*, and other Men of Learning, admit of the *Decades* ; because there is a Preface prefixed to every *Decade*. The third *Decade* is reckoned the most excellent of all the History, which gives us an account of a very long and sharp War, in which the *Romans* gained so many Advantages that no Arms could afterwards withstand them. The first Book of this *Decade* is taken almost word for word from *Polybius*, and mentions many things in the History  
of

of this War with *Hannibal*, which are suspected as not mentioned by *Polybius*, who give us a better Account than *Livy* of the *Roman* military Affairs. In the first Book of the *Macedonian* War he is much more exact than *Livy*, in specifying the Names of the Persons who acted; in giving us a particular Account of the Siege of *Abidos*; and in all the Series of this History 'tis evident, *Livy* has translated many Passages word for word from *Polybius*. The Beginning of this History is too general. From the taking of *Troy* to the Building of *Lavinium*, are reckoned two Years; from the Building of *Lavinium* to *Longa*, thirty Years; from *Longa* to *Rome*, four hundred Years; from the Building of *Rome* to the Consuls, two hundred and forty-four Years: So that from the Taking of *Troy* to the Beginning of the Consuls, which is the Subject of *Livy's* first Book, are six hundred and seventy-six Years. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* has learned and accurately discussed this Period in four Books. It was not therefore *Livy's* Design to give us a particular Explication of the most ancient *Roman* Transactions, which many Historians had done long before, but rather to relate what was transacted by the *Romans* a little before the second *Punic* War, to his own Times: and, lest his History should be incompleat in the Beginning, he very concisely treats of the *Roman* Affairs in the first twenty Books; from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the second *Punic* War, *Dionysius*, who purposed to write the Antiquities of *Rome*, has omitted nothing he thought deserved a Relation: He has not only presented us with the Facts, but their stated Times; and what *Livy* has comprehended in three Books, he has scarce delivered in eleven. As to *Livy's* Facts, which are



suspected, it is thought they are taken from *Fabius Pictor*, an old Historiographer. This Account includes the most material Circumstances that relate to the History of this noble Writer.

PERHAPS never Man came furnished with better Parts, or those more improved, to the Writing of a History, than *Livy*. He was formed in a City at that time the Empress of the World, in which all the most important Affairs of the Universe were decided, and in the politest Reign that ever was ; having had scarce any other School than the Court of *Augustus*. There it was he learned the Language of the genteelest Part of Mankind ; and that lively, fine, subtile and natural Air then in fashion ; that exquisite Taste, that Purity and Nobleness of Expression, which was the Character of that Age, and of which there were so great Models in all sort of Writings, perfecting and polishing himself upon them. Thence it was he took that Softness necessary to please, and that Force which renders him moving ; wherein peculiarly consists his essential Character. For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty with all the Vehemence of Discourse, so much as he ; so much does the Sweetness of Beauty temper the masculine Force and Energy of what he says, that there falls not any thing from his Pen too strong, but is softened with a Term more nice and delicate.

THE Nobleness of *Livy's* Expression ravishes a Man's Soul into Extasy ; 'tis about two thousand Years since that Historian wrote, yet he still commands a respectful Attention from all Nations, by his awful and majestick way of Speaking, which has been the Admiration of all Ages. To speak the Truth, nothing satisfies my Mind so well, as  
his

his admirable Choice of Words, always proportioned to his Sentiments, and his excellent Manner of expressing his Sentiments, always conformable to the Things he speaks of. In short, he has hit the best of any Man upon that sort of Style, which *Cicero* advises to Historians; and it is (says *Rapin*) by that great Pattern that *Buchanan*, *Mariana*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Paulus Jovius* (and all those that have outlived the Times they flourished in) have formed their Method of writing History. *Livy* has a most engaging way of telling a Story, which is his admirable Skill of mixing little things with great ones; because great Events by themselves are tiresome and fatiguing, whereas small Adventures are pleasant, and unbend the Mind. According to the same Scheme he varies the Transactions he relates, makes sad Occurrences succeed those that are pleasant, and mixes very discreetly the Shining with the Dark, that he may keep up the Reader's Attention by that agreeable Variety.

THIS Writer had a natural Felicity for all things fine and great, wherein he had a Palate extraordinary delicate. He had an admirable Genius for Eloquence in general, that is, for the Purity of Discourse, for a Fineness of Speech, for the Dignity of Expression, and a certain Elevation of Soul, that made him most fortunate in his Imagination. He was, to complete these Qualifications, choice in his Words, just in the Order of his Discourse, great in his Sentiments, lofty and proportionate in the Disposition, and the universal Œconomy of his Design. He was, in short, Master of all the Rhetorick of History; for History has a peculiar Rhetorick

of its own, and this Rhetorick has its Rules. *Quintilian* says, his Style is sweet and fluent, that is has a greater Tendency to Solidity, than Flash and Lustre, and is most pleasing to those who had rather be affected, than dazled and amazed. His Air is great and noble in its Simplicity, and he has a Softness of Expression, ever supported with much Force and Majesty. His Discourse is animated in so lively a manner, as suffers nothing to droop or languish. And the Turn, the Cadency, the Grace he gives to all he says, the Justness of his Words, the Clearness of his Sense, every thing he has is admirable. Perhaps there was never Historian more engaging by the Talent he had of expressing Nature to the Life, and giving her a different Face as became her several Conditions, painting her always in her proper Colours, making every Passion speak its genuine Language, that it might have its full Effect upon the Mind. Hence it is he is so incomparable at painting the Manners, that his Portraitsures are so like, that he expresses every thing in the Features that become it, never confounding those Beauties which Nature has distinguished.

HE eminently exceeds the rest of Historians in the perfect Knowledge he has of all Decors, which is a Science indispensably necessary to a Man that will write History, since nothing carries a Face of Truth, but from an exact Observation of what is agreeable to each Particular. See how he distinguishes the different Ages of the Commonwealth, by the Difference of Spirit and Manners that reigned in it. It is by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preserve

serve their Characters so well in this Author, where nothing is touched in the same Manner, or wrote in the same Tenour. From hence it is that *Rome* could speak otherways under Kings and Tribunes, than in the Reigns of the last Consuls and Emperors; that every one in that History stands marked in a distinguishing Character. His Discourse has Authority when it instructs, it has Sweetness and Condescension when it persuades, Neatness when it relates, is Graceful and Elegant when it would please; is Fervent, Moving and Pathetical, when it would affect: He is Moral and Instructive where it is required, giving Lessons to the whole World, and at the same time seeming to do nothing less.

THE Length of his Period, which many are apt to reproach him with, is in my Judgment one of his greatest Advantages; it is this only that makes him Majestical; for a long and ample Style never wants Majesty, when it is, like his, bore up with good Sense, and in an exquisite Choice of Words. After all, the World has never been able to discern his Method; he has a secret Art, couched under a seeming Plainness and Simplicity, which makes him appear Natural throughout his Work. He is particularly sure to practise that Art, in that which seems to have its Dependance most on Nature, carefully shunning all manner of Affectation, and studying always to be simple. It is by this stately and familiar Way together, which is the most usual Ornament of his Discourse, that he strikes the Soul with those wonderful Impressions, that he shakes and agitates it as he pleases, that his  
Sentiments



Sentiments break in upon you through the Force of his Words (the Strength of which he very well understood)-and that he always moves those whom he is speaking to, by the natural Energy of his Expression. This Quality renders him as vehement in his great Passions, as soft and agreeable in the less, giving the former a more active and lively Mien, and smoothing over the latter with a gentle and tender Touch. Indeed the Genius he had for the Nobleness of Expression, and the Art he had to manage it so dextrously, and employ it upon occasion, accustom'd him to raise himself upon any great Event. It was here he took a sort of Pride, to set forth, as one may say, and shew the most rare and concealed Riches of his Soul in their full Capacity. What Drafts, what Paintings does he then give you, when the Greatness of his Theme at once excites him, and furnishes him with those admirable Opportunities he knew how to make the best of? And it is in those favourable and naturally lofty Topicks, that he raises and ennobles his Discourse by those great Ideas, with which his excellent Genius for the sublime and majestic Style inspires him, which is his very Character. It is, in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the most in use, but the most glittering and harmonious, which add a Lustre to all the other Beauties of Discourse; he excites in the Mind of his Readers an Admiration mingled with Surprise, which is quite another thing than the Pleasure that arises from Persuasion only.

THE Encomiums bestowed upon *Livy* are almost infinite and incredible; *Ludovicus Vives* recom-

recommends this Character of him : Variety has not rendred *Livy* confused, nor the Simplicity of his History nauseous ; in little and low Matters which often happen, he is not without Blood, dry and jejune, and in Plenty and Greatness he is not turgid and vast, being full without swelling, equal and soft, on this side Effeminacy, neither luxuriously flowing, nor horribly barren ; in plain things he is not unpleasant nor languid, in soft things he does not rise in a violent and forced Oratory ; yet he is not so copious as to be troublesome, nor lascivious in his Pleasantry, nor so light as to be careless. He is not so severe as to be rude, nor so simple as to be naked, nor so dressed as to seem by an affected Composition to be curled with hot Irons ; his Words are equal to his Matter, and his Sentences to his Subjects ; he is grave and magnificent in his Account of Actions, and yet short and proper ; in Narrations he is natural, and always circumspect, never confounding the Order, nor forerunning the Event ; he is no Seeker of Favour by Flattery, or sparing in his Reprehensions in expectation of a Pardon, nor yet bitter to an Offence ; he never spares the Senate, that great and venerable Moderator of the World, nor the *Roman* People, the Princess of the Earth, if precipitated by Rashness, or deceived by Error, or by any other Means, whensoever they happen to transgress the Bounds of Moderation and Justice.

I shall end with observing that *Livy* had never travelled much, or been employed in military Affairs ; yet what he might want in Experience, was happily

happily supplied by wonderful Parts and Eloquence, by severe Study, and unwearied Endeavours after Knowledge and Information; so that he describes all the Countries, Towns, Seas, and Ports, whither the *Roman* Legions and Navies came, with near the same Accuracy and Perfection (if possible) which he could any Place in *Italy*, lays a Siege, draws up an Army with Skill and Conduct scarce inferior to *Cæsar* himself. Was there as much Charm in the Conversation of this extraordinary Man, as there is in his Writings, the Gentleman of *Cales* would not repent of his long Journey, who came from thence only to see *Livy* upon the Fame of his incomparable Eloquence, and other celebrated Abilities; and we have reason to believe he received Satisfaction, because after he had seen *Livy* and conversed with him, he had no Curiosity to see *Rome*, to which he was so near, and which at that time was, for its Magnificence and Glory, one of the greatest Wonders of the whole Earth. Nor less was the Veneration paid to the Memory of this immortal Writer by *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*, above two hundred Years since. That Prince sent his Embassador to the Citizens of *Padua*, and obtained a Bone of that Arm with which *Livy* had writ his History; he caused it to be removed to *Naples* with the greatest Marks of Honour, as the most inestimable Present; and it is said that he recovered his Health from a languishing Indisposition, by the Delight he took in reading that immortal History.

BUT though Antiquity has ever paid so great a Deference to the Merit of this Great Man, and recommended him to us as the perfectest and most complete Model of all others: yet nothing

thing it seems is so absolute and accomplished, but Malice and Ill-nature will distinguish as Matter of Blame and Censure. In the Age wherein he lived, *Asinius Pollio* arraigned his Style, and called it *Patavinity*. What he meant by it has given Occasion for the Niceties and different Conjectures of the Criticks. *Pignorius* conceives, it respects only the Orthography of certain Words in which *Livy* used one Letter for another, after the Custom of his Country; writing *sibe* and *quase*, for *sibi* and *quasi*, which he proves by many antient Inscriptions: but the most received Opinion is, that this *Roman* Lord, being used to the Delicacy of the Language spoken in the Court of *Augustus*, could not bear with certain Provincial Idioms which *Livy*, as a *Paduan*, used in many Places of his History. This was the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who was too piercing a Wit himself, and too near a Neighbour of those Times, to be ignorant of the Meaning of this Charge, which he imputes only to a rustical Accent in the Pronunciation.

HE was blamed by *Augustus* for favouring *Pompey's* Party. and inclining to the Side of Liberty; and *Caligula* accused him of Negligence on one side, and an excessive Redundancy of Words on the other, and commanded his Statues and Writings to be removed from all Libraries, where he knew they were curiously preserved. But the capricious Humour of this Tyrant exerted itself with the same Barbarity against the Images and Works of *Homer* and *Virgil*. *Domitian*, another Monster and Prodigy of Nature, put to Death one *Metius Pompasianus*, for the Delight he received by reading the Ora-  
tions



tions of *Livy*. *Seneca* the Rhetorician accuses *Livy* of Envy and Prejudice when he gave *Thucydides* the Preference to *Salust*. *Quintilian* observes, that *Livy* begins his History with an Hexameter Verse. *Gregory* the Great would not suffer the Works of *Livy* to be laid up in any *Christian* Library: indeed his History is full of Prodigies; sometimes an Ox speaks, then a Mule ingenders; Men, Women, Cocks and Hens change their Sex; it rains Showers of Flint-stones, Flesh, Chalk, Blood and Milk. The Statues of the Gods are said to speak, to shed Tears, and sweat pure Blood. How many Apparitions and Phantoms do we find? How many Armies ready to engage in the Air? How many Lakes and Rivers of Blood? Pope *Gregory* was persuaded that *Livy* intermixed these Prodigies in his History to authorize his Religion, when his Design seems to have been no more than to divert the Reader with Variety, and to enliven the Flatness, and relieve the Melancholy of his Narrations.

HIS Style is blamed for being too diffusive, and by his continual Amplifications he wants that Vigour and Strength which is admirable in *Thucydides*; but this Fault may be easily pardoned, considering it is that Diffuseness alone that makes him stately and majestick. It must be owned he is sometimes obscure, and affects the Usage of very ancient *Latin* Words, which are now obsolete, and he has peculiar Ways of speaking, unknown to other Authors, and only proper to himself. But it is probable he has been corrupted in many Places, whether by those who were the first Copyers, or by the antient Editions, whether

whether by the Moderns, or by the false Conjectures of unskilful Criticks, who pretending to correct him where they have not understood him, have quite spoiled what they would have mended, so that we are far from having *Livy* such as he was at first.

HE is charged with being not exact enough in furnishing himself with Instructions, by diving into the Bottom of his Subject ; that he only wrote from the Memoirs of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly suppressed what made for their Disadvantage. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the same Expence to purchase the Memorials of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain those of *Lacedæmon*, he had not expatiated so largely upon the Dignity of the *Roman* People, he would doubtless have found some Particulars where to have done more Justice to *Hannibal* and his Republick than he did.

THE Revelation of *Romulus* after his Death, that *Rome* should become the Capital of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition seen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has something so enthusiastic in it, that one is amazed an Author of so solid a Character should suffer such a Story to pass without giving it a more plausible Turn. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not so admirably put together, there is something wanting to its Probability, a Man knows not upon what Grounds she kills herself. If she has suffered Violence, why does she punish herself, since she could not resist it ? Why would she not die before she was ravished ? Is it Modesty or Vanity, is it Wisdom or Despair, is it Love of Virtue or  
Glory,

Glory, that makes her stab herself? All Things rightly considered, one knows not what it is. The Audaciousness of *Clælia* too is a little extravagant, and considering the Make of the *Tiber*, was a Thing impracticable; a Maid naturally timorous could never think of attempting so dangerous a Passage in a River whose Brinks are almost inaccessible. A few more Failings might be collected out of the Writings of *Livy*, which shew indeed that his Pen was mortal, and that nothing is more essential to Man than to slip sometimes; but his many Excellencies, and the Greatness of his Merit remain still sacred and inviolable. No Historian could be happier in the Dignity of his Subject, and none was better qualified to adorn it; his Genius was every way capable of the mighty Undertaking, and was equal and fully answerable to the Majesty of the *Roman Empire*.

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EDITIONS of *LIVY*.

*Cum variis Annotationibus, editio elegans.*

*apud Vascosan, Paris. 1543. Fol.*

*Ex emendatione & Scholiis Car. Sigonii. Editio elegans*

*& rarif. apud Aldum. Venet. 1555.*

*Ad usum Sereniss. Delphini edidit Joh. Dujat, qui supplementa Joh. Freinshemii adjecit.*

*Paris. 1679. 6 vol. 4to.*

*Notis Variorum & supplementis Freinshemii edidit Joh. Frid. Gronovius, qui & suas Annotat. adjecit.*

*Lug. Bat. 1679. 3 vol. 8vo.*

*Variis Lect. & Notis illustratus à Tho. Hearne.*

*Oxon. 1708. 6 vol. 8vo.*

*Cum*

# TITUS LIVIUS. 189

*Cum Supplementis & Notis Varior. ac J. B. Crevier.*  
Parif. 1735. 6 vol. 4to.

*Notis Joh. Clerici & Supplementis.*

Amft. 1709. 10 vol. 8vo. *minori.*

*Editio nitidiff.* *Typis Elzevirianis.* Lug. Bat. 1634.  
3 vol. 12mo.



## VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

**T**HOUGH this Writer in the two Books he composed, pretended only to write an Epitome of the *Roman* History, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Time wherein he lived, which as he says himself, was in the Reign of *Tiberius*; yet he began his Account with Things more ancient: for though the Beginning of his first Book is lost, we nevertheless find in the Remains of it the Antiquities of many Cities more ancient than *Rome*, the Originals whereof he discovers before he describes the Foundation of that great Metropolis. He was of an illustrious Extraction, as appears by those of his Family, who had signalized themselves in the Exercise of many of the greatest Employments of the *Roman* Empire; was a military Tribune when *Caius Cæsar*, a Grandson of *Augustus*, had an Interview with the King of the *Parthians* in an Isle of the *Euphrates*. He commanded the Cavalry in *Germany* under *Tiberius*,



rius, and accompanied that Prince nine Years successively in all his Expeditions; he received honourable Rewards from him, and was advanced to the Prætorship. Having gloriously succeeded in the military Profession, he says himself, that the Remembrance of the Countries he had seen during the Time he commanded in the Armies, and in his Voyages through the Provinces of *Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia* the less, and other more easterly Regions, especially those upon the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, furnished his Mind with most agreeable Diversions. Whereby one may judge, that if he had writ this History as intire and large as he sometimes promised, we should have found many Things very considerable in it, as reported by a Man who was so eminent an Eye-witness, and had a Share in the Execution of the noblest Part of them. In that little which is left, wherein he represents all compendiously, divers Particulars are related that are no where else to be found; which happens either by the Silence of other Historians in those Matters, or the ordinary Loss of part of their Labours.

THE Style of *Velleius Paterculus* is very worthy of his Age, which was also the Time of pure Language. His greatest Excellence lies in discommending or praising those he speaks of which he does in the softest Terms, and most delicate Expressions that are seen in any other Historian or Orator. But he is blamed, and perhaps with reason, for flattering too much the Party and House of *Augustus*, and making extravagant Elogies not only of *Tiberius*, but even of his Favourite *Sejanus*, whose Merit he celebrates as one of the  
principal

principal and most *virtuous* Persons that the *Roman* Commonwealth has produced. But the like Fault may be found in many others who have writ the History of their own Times, with a Design to publish it whilst they lived; however, *Lipsius* imagined, that those his excessive Praises of *Sejanus* were the Cause of his Fall, and the Ruin of the rest of that unhappy Favourite's Friends, who were almost all put to death upon his account; but yet this Opinion can pass for nothing but a meer Conjecture, since it is no where else to be seen.

THE Nature of his Epitome did not (it seems) admit of Orations, yet an oblique one is to be found in his second Book, in which he introduces the Son of *Tigranes* speaking to *Pompey* to procure his Favour. *Paterculus's* Remark (says *Rapin*) upon the Death of *Pompey*, basely assassinated by the Perfidiousness of King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, has somewhat of Greatness in it, and well becomes that Place of the Story, which wanted such a Light and Grace: So various, says he, was the Fortune of that Great Man, that he who but lately wanted Earth for the Extent of his Victories, now wanted it for the Dimensions of his Grave. The Thought is beautiful, but rather too much refined after the Manner of that Author; *Paterculus*, says the same Critick, to enliven the melancholy Story of the Proscription by the Triumviri, throws in a very pleasant Piece of Raillery, which he makes to be spoken by the Soldiers as they followed the triumphal Chariot of *Lepidus* and *Plancus*: Our two Consuls triumphed not over the *Gauls*, but over the  *Germans*, as having consented to the Banishment of  
their

their *nearest Relations*. Such Strictures as these, as they are surprising in themselves, so they are very fortunate in History, and have a wonderful Effect in relieving the Spirit, and raising the Attention.

THERE is something very remarkable in the Style of this Writer, which is, that among all the Figures of Oratory which he uses, he employs the *Epiphonema* so gracefully, that perhaps no one ever equalled him in that respect. So that in all, or most of the Events which he mentions, there are few that he does not conclude with one of these sententious Reflections, which Rhetoricians call by that Name. And besides, the Beauty of that Figure when it is judiciously employed, as he knew how to do it, there is nothing instructs a Reader more usefully than that sort of Corollary applied to the End of the chief Actions of every Narration. Our Writer shewed his strong Inclination to Eloquence in his Invektive against *Marc Anthony* on the Subject of his Proscription, and upon the Death of *Cicero*, whom he wonderfully applauds in that Place, and in another of the same Book, where he acknowledges that without such a Person, *Greece*, though overcome in Arms, might have boasted to have been victorious in Wit. He had so mighty an Esteem for this Orator, that he declares that excepting those whom *Cicero* saw, or by whom he was seen and heard, there was none among the *Romans* that deserved to be admired for their Eloquence, which was a Faculty as to the excelling Part, as it were circumscribed only within the Compass of *Cicero's* Life.

BESIDES

BESIDES the two Books of the abridged History of *Velleius Paterculus*, a Fragment has been produced, which is ascribed to him, touching the Defeat of some *Roman* Legions in the Country of the *Grifons*. It mentions a City called *Cicera*, and takes notice, that of a Legion there engaged *Verres* alone escaped, whom *Cicero* caused afterwards to be condemned with Infamy, for having, during his Proconsulship in *Sicily*, used such Extortions that almost ruined that important Province. But most learned Men, and *Velferus* with *Vossius* among the rest, declaim against this Piece, which they affirm to be counterfeit, as well by the Style, which seems to be of an Age much inferior to that of *Paterculus*, as by the Matter whereof it treats, wherein they find great Absurdities. But laying aside the doubtful Judgment of Criticks, it is evident in respect of the true Phrase of this Author, that excepting the Faults which proceed rather from his Transcribers than himself, and the Copies than the Original, we have nothing more pure in all the *Latin* Language than his Writings, nor more worthy of the Times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*.

THIS Writer is allowed to be a clear and efficacious Explainer of ancient History. He is honest and true, says *Aldus Minutius*, till you come to the *Cæsars*, where he is not every where faithful; for through Flattery he conceals and covers many Things, and plainly relates them otherwise than they were, yet he every where expresses himself with a full and flowing Eloquence. Nothing, says *Lipsius*, can flow with greater Purity and Sweetness than his Style, he comprehends the Antiquities of the *Romans* with so much Brevity and Per-



spicuity, that (if he were extant intire) he would be without an Equal; he commends the illustrious Persons he names with a certain exalted Oratory, and becoming so great a Man. His Style is pure, clear, elegant, and worthy of the best Age of *Roman Literature*. But this Critick censures his Faults with great Freedom. Among the Ancients, says he, *Velleius Paterculus* likewise raises my Indignation. He represents *Ælius Sejanus* endowed with all good Qualities, and applauds him as upon a Theatre. The Impudence of this Historian! However, we know he was born and died for the Destruction of Mankind. After many Commendations, he concludes, that *Livia Augusta* was a Woman that resembled the Gods more than Man. And then as to *Tiberius*, he thinks it a Crime to speak otherwise of him than of an immortal *Jove*. What sincere or honest Mind can bear this? On the other hand, how cunningly doth he conceal every where the excellent Qualities of *Cæsar Germanicus*? How sily does he ruin the Reputation of *Agrippina*, and others, whom *Tiberius* was thought to hate? In short, he is nothing but a Court Prostitute. You will say, perhaps, it was unsafe to speak the Truth in those Times; I own it: But if he durst not write the Truth, he ought not to have wrote Lyes. No Man is called to an Account for Silence.

It is somewhat strange that a Work so worthy to be carefully preserved, and of which Copies might be easily made by reason of its Brevity, should be in danger of being lost. The first Edition of this Author was published by *Rhenanus* at *Basil*, from the Manuscript of *Morbac*, in the Year 1520. It is observed that no ancient Writer

ter but *Priscian* makes mention of *Paterculus*; but the Moderns have done him infinitely more Justice, by publishing him frequently with Notes and Commentaries. The *Annales Velleiani* of Mr. *Dodwell*, prefixed to the *Oxford* Edition, are a Piece of Learning which discovers a very great Knowledge of Antiquity.

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# EDITIONS of VEL. PATERCULUS.

*Ad usum sereniss. Delphini editus est.*

Parif. 1675. 4to.

*Notis Variorum* & Ant. Thyfii.

Lugd. Bat. 1668. 8vo.

*Variis Lection. & Notis* Tho. Hearne.

Oxon, 1711. 8vo.

*Notis Varicrum* & Petri Burmanni.

Lugd. Bat. 1719. 8vo.

*Editio nitidiff. curâ* Ger. Vossii, *ex Officina Elzeviriana.*

Lugd. Bat. 1639. 12mo.





## QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

ALEXANDER had no reason to complain (as he once did) for not having, like *Achilles*, a *Homer* to celebrate his Actions, since there was found among the *Latins* so eminent an Historian as *Quintus Curtius* to describe the Adventures of his Life. He was certainly, says *La Mothe*, one of the greatest Authors they had, and the Excellency of his Style would seem to intimate that he was more ancient than *Livy* and *Paterculus*, and to make him pass for him whom *Cicero* speaks of in one of his Epistles, if the more common Opinion of those who have laboured in the Search of his Age, did not place him in the Reign of *Vespasian*, and some to have lived in the Time of *Trajan*. As he lived to a great Age, he may well be the same Person mentioned by *Suetonius* as a great Rhetorician, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and *Tacitus* as a Prætor and Proconsul of *Africa* under that Emperor; for there is not above two and thirty Years from the last of *Tiberius* to the first of *Vespasian*; and what the younger *Pliny* reports of a Phantasm which appeared in *Africa* to one *Curtius Rufus*, can be understood of no other than him that was mentioned by *Tacitus* as aforesaid.

BUT

BUT it is of little moment to reconcile the Diversity of Opinions upon this Subject, which are collected together by *Vossius*; perhaps he was a Son only of those whom *Cicero* or *Suetonius* mentions, and may have nothing in common with any of the other that we have named, especially considering that neither *Quintilian*, nor any of the Ancients have said the least Word of him, or his History, which is very strange: For how *Quintilian*, who omitted not to mention all the considerable Historians then extant, in the tenth Book of his Institutions, writ in *Domitian's* Reign, could forget him, is not to be answered, without presupposing that the Works of *Quintus Curtius* were not at that time published.

THE common Impressions of this Author confess that his two first Books, and the End of the fifth, are lost, as also the Beginning of the sixth; and in some few Places of the last, which is the tenth, there appears a manifest Defect. The two first Books were supplied by *Christopher Bruno*, which he did out of what *Arrian*, *Diodorus*, *Justin*, and some others had related upon the same Subject. The Character of this Writer is highly applauded by the most eminent Judges of History, though not wholly exempt from Imperfections. Both *Arrian* and *Quintus Curtius* are florid Writers (says *Colerus*;) but *Curtius* is the brighter, and sweeter than Honey itself; he does rather weary than satiate his Reader, he abounds with direct and oblique Sentences by which the Life of Man is strangely illustrated. *Lipsius* agrees in the same Judgment: He is, says he, in my Opinion, an honest and true Historian, if any such there have been; there is a strange Felicity in his

K 3

Style,



Style, and a Pleasantness in his Relations; he is contracted and fluent, subtle and clear, careless and yet accurate, true in his Judgment, searching in his Sentences, and in his Orations eloquent above what I can express. But Father *Rapin* gives the fullest Account of this Writer, which I shall translate at large.

*QUINTUS CURTIUS*, says that Critick, is shining and florid, nothing can be more polite; he affects a Gaiety in his Expressions, which extremely pleases the Men of Wit. Every thing ought to be grounded upon Reason, therefore this Historian is not always in the right. When he endeavours to make his Hero so admirable, he does not make him take the wisest Resolutions, but on the contrary the most heroic and perilous. He always finds a Charm in Danger, and cares not so much for Conquests as the Honour of conquering. He has handled a noble Theme with too florid and gay an Air, in Terms too exquisite and far-fetched, and too studied Figures. In some Places he sports a little with his Subject, forgetting the Importance was such as required more Gravity. It is in the Power of his Hero to surprize *Darius* in the Night, and by that means keep him from knowing how weak he was, *Darius* having double the Number of Men; but this great Man, who is less solicitous for getting a Victory than making his Valour to be admired, attacks the King of *Persia* in the broad Day, being resolved rather to die with Honour, than conquer by a Surprise. *Darius*, after his Defeat, offers to divide *Asia* with him, and proposes a Match between him and his Daughter, but *Alexander* rather chuses to arrive at Glory through

through Dangers, than become a Master so peaceably, he will hear of none of these Proposals, and aims at nothing but what is wonderful. His Historian, I confess, does him a great deal of Honour, but does not all this great Honour want a little Probability? Does he not make his Hero more rash than wise? and more adventurous than ambitious? He thought those Sentiments more noble, no doubt, but on the other side he has strained them too far, and has given us reason to question whether he has left us a Romance, or a History. *Quintus Curtius* might well have spared to have made *Alexander* so infamous as he does in some Places. There are some Persons of that Eminence as to have a right to Privileges, whom we ought to treat with Civility and Respect; we may indeed relate their personal Faults, but we must never offend their Dignity, or debase their Greatness. This Historian, however, deserves to be commended for his Sincerity, for he speaks the good and the bad of his Hero, without the least Prepossession to his Merit. If any Fault is to be found with his History, it is for being too polite; but nevertheless he has excelled in a pleasant and natural Way of describing the Manners of Mankind.

*ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS*, and several others, observe a memorable Occurrence concerning this Historian, in reference to *Alphonso* that wise King of *Arragon*, who finding himself oppressed with an Indisposition, from which all the Remedies of his Physicians could not deliver him, applied himself for Diversion to the Reading of *Quintus Curtius*; which he did with so much Satisfaction and Success, that he became cured

of his Infirmary, and protested to all about him, that neither *Hippocrates* nor *Avicenna* should ever be of equal Consideration to him with that History.

BUT notwithstanding the Applause that generally attends the Character of this Historian, he is not to be dismissed without taking notice of some of his Imperfections. Though he must be allowed to be very neat and florid in his Style, which is declamatory, this Humour of declaiming has led him into many Errors. His Narrations want that Simplicity which is essential to History, and are pursued in such elegant Terms and Heat of Elocution, as makes it evident he studied the Art of Rhetorick more than History. This Affectation of Eloquence frequently makes him frigid, and ever sententious. He is justly condemned for his absurd Hyperboles, and incredible Narrations. Who can imagine an hundred thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse were cut off with the Loss of no more than an hundred and fifty Horse and thirty-two Foot, and that in an obstinate Fight, wherein *Darius's* Guards are represented as dying an honourable and brave Death in Defence of their King?

THE Description of the River *Ganges* in *India*, with its Inhabitants, offends against the Unity of History, and is too great a Digression. His Characters are imperfect, and often inconsistent. What we have of the Persons who act, except of the Hero and *Parmenio*, is little more than a Judgment on some particular Facts. *Darius* is described as impatient of the Truth, just before *Charidemus* is hurried away to capital Punishment; and as his Death is purely the Effect of *Darius's* Cruelty and  
Pride,

Pride, the Character the Historian gives him of Clemency and Sanctity is altogether inconsistent. The Attempt on *Alexander's* Life, by way of Assassination and Bribery is another Instance of *Darius's* Inhumanity. *Curtius* makes *Parmenio* superiour to his Hero: "*Parmenio* acted many things without the *King*, but the *King* nothing of moment without *Parmenio*."

NOTWITHSTANDING his Orations are harmonious, and full of elegant Allusions, Illustrations and Comparisons; yet they are too sententious, and sometimes ill adapted to the Persons. The Oration of the *Scythians* to *Alexander* is a handsome Invective against Covetousness and Ambition; but has no Verisimilitude as it stands in that History. Had these *Scythians* been Lords of the Universe, they could not have expressed themselves in higher Terms and with greater Confidence; and yet they were subdued at the first Assault, though they had many Advantages on their side. He is condemned in the *Ars Critica* of *Le Clerc*, for Ignorance in Astronomy and Geography, and Neglect in Chronology. He has situated the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in a wonderful temperate Climate, though it lies in the *Inner Lybia* about twenty Degrees of North Latitude. He has put *Arabia Felix* for *Arabia Deserta*, and placed it on the left hand, when it should be on the right. And a little after he makes *Tigris* and *Euphrates* run through *Media*, where they never come; which is also the Error of *Diodorus Siculus*. He confounds Mount *Caucasus* with *Taurus*; and makes the *Caspian* and *Hircanian* two Seas, with many Errors of the same Nature. However this Writer is certainly



preferable to all other Historians, for the Use of Schools: His Acuteness and Vehemency make the deepest Impressions on the Minds of Youth. There is a musical Flow in the Number of his Prose. His Periods taken together are wonderfully sweet, and his Sentiments very instructive. Nothing out-does him in that kind of Eloquence Children should have a taste of in their first Compositions.

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### EDITIONS of Q. CURTIUS.

*Ad usum sereniss.* Delphini, editus est.

Parisiis, 1678. 4to.

*Notis Variorum* & Sam. Pitisci, 2 vol. *æneis figuris.*

Hag. Com. 1708. 8vo.

*Notis Variorum* & *elegantissimis figuris illustratus.*

*apud* Vander Aa. Lugd. Bat. 1696. 8vo.

*Notis integris Variorum* & *æneis figuris edidit*

Hen. Snakenburg, 2 vol. Lugd. Bat. 1724. 4to.

*Editio nitidiss. Typis Elzevirii.*

Lugd. Bat. 1633. 12mo.



## TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER.

**T**ITUS PETRONIUS was a Roman Knight, of the Family of the *Petronius's*; which derived its Original from the *Sabines*, and gave so many illustrious Men to the Service of the Republic. There's no question but he was brought up with all the Care they then employed at *Rome* in the Education of young Persons of Quality; for at that time the *Romans* were very industrious in cultivating the Minds of their Youth, and even seemed to emulate the Severity of the *Greeks*.

WHAT he chiefly applied himself to was polite Literature; and that he particularly endeavoured a Justness of Taste is evident, since we find it in its utmost Perfection in his Writings.

AFTER the Completion of his first Studies, he made his Appearance at the Court of *Claudius*; but his Assiduity there was no Hinderance to his principal Design, of perfecting himself in the Sciences; and therefore he employed his leisure Hours in making Declamations, which was the Custom of those Times, in order to exercise and enable their young Gentlemen of the first Quality to speak in publick; for which purpose they had several Schools. and by this successful Method furnished themselves with so many famous Orators,

both in their Senate and Armies, to the great Advantage of the Republick.

THE Court of *Claudius* was then the very Seat of Pleasure, through the Care and Encouragement of the Empress *Messalina*, who had an entire Ascendant over the Mind of the Emperor; for he being a weak Prince, complied with every thing, provided they indulged him at Table, for he passionately loved good Eating, and Wine to Excess. The Courtiers also followed the Examples of their Prince, and Debauchery was no less familiar to them. *Petronius* commencing Courtier under a Reign where the Mode of Living was so agreeable to his own Temper, he also became insensibly voluptuous; though it must be remarked, that he never delighted in the brutal Pleasures of Love like *Messalina*, nor in those of the Table even to Gluttony with *Claudius*; but only in a delicate and grand manner took a Relish of both, rather to gratify his Curiosity than his Senses. Thus he employed a Part of the Day in Sleep, and dedicated the whole Night to Pleasure and Business, his House was the Resort of all the polite People in *Rome*; his Life agreeably spent amongst their Visits, and as others make themselves famous by Intrigues, *Petronius* gained a Reputation by a graceful Indolence, and a Behaviour which was as easy, disengaged and natural, as his ordinary Discourse. One may therefore represent him as continually employed, either in witty Conversations, the elegant Delights of the Table, or at publick Shows or Diversions; and in short, as spending his Revenue not like a Prodigal or Debauchee, but like a delicate and learned Artist in the Science of Pleasure.

P E T R O.

PETRONIUS having passed his Youth in a Life of so much Softness and Tranquillity, was resolved to convince those who might doubt of the Extent of his Capacity, that it was capable of the highest Employments; wherefore he put an Interval to his Pleasures, and accepting the Proconsulship of *Bithynia*, went into that Province, where he discharged the Duties of his Office with great Applause. After which, as he was on his Return to *Rome*, *Nero* who had succeeded *Claudius*, made him Consul. The Term of his Consulate being expired, he resumed without quitting the Court his former way of Life, and soon became one of the Emperor's Confidants, who could do nothing agreeable, but what was approved by *Petronius*; and this Authority which he possessed of being Umpire in every thing, gave him the Name of *Arbiter*, as one that was sovereign Judge.

NERO, in the first Years of his Reign, behaved like a wise Prince; and so long as he kept within the Bounds of Moderation, *Petronius* acted cheerfully under him as Intendant of his Pleasures, ordering him Shows, Games, Comedies, Musick, Feasts, Parties of Pleasure in the Country, delightful Gardens, charming Ladies; and in short, all that could contribute to make a Prince pass his Life agreeable.

BUT the Emperor giving way to his natural Disposition, at length changed his Conduct, not only in regard to the Government of the Empire, but also to that of his own Person. He listened to other Counsels than those of *Petronius*, and engaging himself insensibly in Debauchery, gave the entire Reins to his Passions, and became



as wicked a Prince as he had before appeared mild and equitable.

*NERO* was a Scholar, and had given sufficient Proofs of it from his Youth; for at fifteen Years of Age he pleaded in the Senate in his own Language for the *Boulonnois*, and in *Greek* for the *Rhodians*; but his Learning was confused, and very much embarrassed. He was also a Lover of Men of Wit, and had several Flatterers about him, who, following the Corruption of the Court, treated *Seneca* as a Pedant, nor could endure his preaching Virtue and Morality to them; because they were persuaded, he himself was far from living the Life of a Philosopher in those Particulars. This frequent Ridicule insinuated into the Emperor's Mind, and exposed him to Contempt, which added to his own Knowledge of the unjust Ways by which he had amassed the immense Riches he possessed; from Contempt he passed to Hatred, and that Hatred was at last the Destruction of *Seneca*.

MEAN time *Petronius* saw with Regret, that the Emperor began to shun him; that he often broke out, and following his own corrupt Inclinations, transgressed the Bounds even of Debauchery itself; that he had entirely lost the Sense of what he owed to his Dignity, would run through the Streets and Places of ill Repute, outrage all he met, turn Robber, and offer Violence to *Roman Ladies* of the first Quality. The distinguished Favour of *Petronius* had drawn upon him the Envy of all those, who were emulous as well as himself, of the good Graces of their Prince; and amongst others, that of *Tigellinus*, Captain of the Guard, who was a dangerous

gerous Rival. This Man, from an obscure Birth and corrupt Morals, had in a short time acquired a surprizing Ascendant over the Mind of the Emperor ; and, as he perfectly knew his Foible, began seriously to contrive the Ruin of his Competitor, and that by such means as were thought to threaten the Destruction of the Empire.

THE delicate Pleasures of *Petronius* were continual Upbraidings to the gross Debaucheries of *Tigellinus* ; who, foreseeing that *Petronius's* Credit would always be an Obstacle to his Designs, resolved to make himself entire Master of his Prince's Heart ; and, as their Inclinations were almost the same, he soon engaged him in the foulest Brutalities. It is certain, he met with little Difficulty in the Attempt ; for finding a Nature wholly disposed, he drew the Emperor without Trouble into Pleasures, which were neither in the Taste, nor by the Advice of *Petronius* ; and thus they completely depraved him to secure him from his Rival ; for *Nero*, who, was already a Parricide by the Murder of his Mother, no sooner gave ear to *Tigellinus*, but he signalized his Tyranny by the Deaths of *Sylla* and *Rubellius Plautus*, both Persons dreaded by them for their Virtue, and the Favour they were in with the People. After which, Fury and Brutality made themselves Mistresses of his Heart to such an Excess, that the most enormous Crimes were openly perpetrated by him. When the Emperor was thus confirmed in his Disorders, the old Favourite found himself almost without Employment near his Prince, and *Nero* himself was not able to endure so nice a Witness of his Infamies,

Infamies, and no longer gave him that free Entrance into his Pleasures, which he formerly enjoyed.

*TIGELLINUS* taking his Advantage of these Dispositions, omitted nothing that might gratify the Desires of his Prince, by the magnificent Feasts he provided; and as his Rival, according to *Tacitus*, much surpassed him in the Science of Pleasures, one may conclude without fear of being deceived, that those which *Petro-nius* ordered were of a different Nature, and guilty of none of those Excesses that were seen in one of their Feasts, which that Historian relates as an Example of all the rest, and describes in this manner. They prepared a stately Feast on the Lake of *Agrippa*, in a Vessel covered with Plates of Gold and Ivory: The Rowers were placed in their Ranks, which they took according to their Age and Experience in Debauchery. The Ends of the Earth were drained for the rarest Eatables. The Lake was bordered with Portico's, in which were great Numbers of Chambers filled on one side with Women of Quality who prostituted themselves to the first Comers, and on the other with naked Courtezans in a thousand lascivious Postures: At Night appeared surprising Illuminations in every Quarter, and the Woods and Palaces round about echoed with Concerts of musical Instruments, and Songs adapted to the Feast. In short, to conclude this grand Debauch in a memorable Action, *Nero* was married a little after to one of the most abandoned Wretches of her Sex, named *Pythagora*, and that publicly with all the accustomed Ceremonies. They put upon the

the Emperor's Head the Espoused's Veil, sent him two Auspices, assigned him the Marriage-Portion, adorned the nuptial Bed, lighted Wedding Torches; and, to conclude, the Bride admitted that to be seen of all the Company which the Shades of Night conceal in the most lawful Pleasures.

*PETRONIUS*, disgusted at these Scenes of Licentiousness, insensibly withdrew himself from Court, and being of a mild and unenterprising Nature, suffered Things to run on in the Train they had taken, without attempting to re-establish them in the Condition he left them, I imagine, it was about that time that he vented his Uneasiness in his Satire, which is so lively a Representation of the Character and Humour of *Nero*; and under the Names of Debauchees and lewd Women, decries all the Vices of that Prince and his Courtiers.

WHILST *Petronius* thus lived in a retired Tranquillity, *Tigellinus* laboured with all his Power to destroy him, that he might for ever take from the Rival he had removed, the Possibility of re-entring into Favour; and as he knew that Cruelty was the predominant Inclination of his Prince, he insinuated to him that *Petronius* was too much the Friend of *Scevinus*, not to be dipped in *Piso's* Conspiracy; and to support his Imposture, caused him to be present at the Examination of one of *Petronius's* Slaves, whom he had suborned to swear against his Master. After which, to deprive him of all means of justifying himself, they clapped the greatest part of his Domesticks into Prison.



*N E R O* was very glad of the Opportunity of losing a Man, who was become painful to him; therefore he lent a favourable Ear to the Accusation against *Petronius*, who was soon after arrested by his Orders at *Cuma*, upon a Journey which the Emperor took to that Place, and into *Campania*. But it required some time to deliberate, whether they should put a Person of his Consideration to Death, without more evident Proofs of the Crimes laid to his Charge. He took so great a Disgust to living under the Dominion of so detestable a Prince, that he resolved to die. However, that he might not give himself a precipitate Death, he caused his Veins to be opened and afterwards closed again, that he might enjoy the Conversation of his Friends, who came to see him in his last Moments; and whom he desired to entertain him, not with Discourses on the Immortality of the Soul, nor those celebrated Actions invented by the Pride of Philosophers to amuse the World with a vain Opinion of their Constancy, but with agreeable Tales and Poetic Gallantries.

As *Petronius* had an utter Abhorrence to People of *Nero's* and *Tigellinus's* Character, he would not imitate the mean Spirit of those, who dying in these wretched Times by the Orders of that Prince, yet made him their Heir; and stuffed their Testaments full of Elogies on the Tyrant and his Favourite. On the contrary, being possessed of a Goblet of precious Stones, which had cost him above two thousand Pistoles, and out of which he commonly drank, he broke it to pieces, that *Nero*, who he knew would seize it after his Death, might not have the Pleasure of using it

at his Table. After this he thought proper, as his only Present, to send him his Satire, wrote on purpose against him; but having sealed it up, tore off the Seal again, for fear when he was dead it might be made use of as an Instrument to destroy those in whose Hands it should be found.

*NERO* was exceedingly enraged, to see *Petronius* so well acquainted with Infamies he thought he had hid from him; and after leveling his Suspicion at all that could possibly betray him, he at last fixed on the Wife of a Senator named *Silia*, who, because she was an intimate Friend of *Petronius*, he imagined out of a particular Resentment she might hazard a Discovery of what would have been more for her Honour to conceal; and upon this Jealousy she was sent into Banishment. It was in the Year of the Foundation of *Rome* 819, under the Consulships of *Caius Suetonius Paulinus* and *Lucius Pontius Telesinus*, that *Clty* was deprived of so great a Person.

*PETRONIUS*, says *St. Evremont*, is to be admired throughout for the Purity of his Style, and the Delicacy of his Sentiments; but that which more surprizes, is his great Easiness in giving ingenuously all Sorts of Characters. *Terence* is perhaps the only Author of Antiquity, that enters best into the Nature of Persons; but still he has this Fault, that he has too little Variety: His whole Talent being confined in making Servants and old Men, a covetous Father and a debauched Son, a Slave and an Intriguer, to speak properly according to their several Characters:

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So far, and no farther, the Capacity of *Terence* reaches. You must not expect from him either Gallantry or Passion, either Thoughts or the Discourse of a Gentleman. *Petronius*, who had an universal Wit, hits upon the Genius of all Professions, and adapts himself, as he pleases, to a thousand different Natures. If he introduces a Declaimer, he assumes his Air and his Style so well, that one would say he had used to declaim all his Life. There is no Nature, no Temper, no Profession which he does not admirably pursue the Genius of; he is a Poet, he is an O-rator, he is a Philosopher, or any thing else as he sees fit. Upon every Subject that offers itself, it is impossible to think more nicely, or to speak with more Purity. In his Narrations, he sometimes copies after plain unaffected Nature, and contents himself with the Graces of Simplicity; sometimes he gives his Work the finishing Strokes, and then nothing is so polished. *Catullus* and *Martial* treat of the same Things in a gross manner; and if any one could find the Secret in wrapping up what is obscene in a Language like his, I dare answer for the Ladies that they would praise him for his Discretion.

THERE is not, says *Lipsius*, among all the Poets a more beautiful and agreeable Piece than the Satyricon of *Petronius*; yet though he is esteemed the most elegant and polite Writer of the Age he lived in, yet his Style fell somewhat short of the Delicacy of his Judgment; for herein he seemed too affected, and too elaborate; his Style degenerating from that natural and venerable Simplicity which belonged to the happy Age of *Augustus*. He was certainly  
one

one of the most judicious Authors of the *Latin* Tongue, and gave many admirable Rules for the Beauties and Structure of an *Epic* Poem. He was disgusted at the Style of *Seneca* and *Lucan*, which to him seemed affected, and contrary to the Principles of *Aristotle*. 'Tis at them he levels with those Glances that slip from him against the Poetasters and false Declamators; yet he could not come up to his own Rules, nor fall into that easy and natural Way which he prescribes to others; for he gave the best Advice in the World against Affectation, which he never observed himself; for he commends even to the Simplicity of Style, whereas his own is not always natural. To say the truth, says *Rapin*, his Precepts for Poetry are all taken from *Aristotle*; who is the only Source whence good Sense is to be drawn, when one goes about to write.

IF *Petronius* intended to expose the Luxury and Debauchery of *Nero's* Court, it is strange he should chuse to do it in the manner he does; for it is notorious that he speaks of the most infamous Acts of Lewdness with too great a Gust to be thought a Reformer. I should rather imagine that he has likewise drawn his own Picture among those of the other Debauchees of that Court and Age, His Satire is such a strange Medley of Virtue and Vice, that it is sometimes difficult to determine what he condemns, or what he approves. He had certainly a great Genius, and knew very well how to enter into every Character he intended to commend or expose, and is said by a happy Temperature to have joined the Humour of *Plautus* to the Eloquence of *Cicero*; out of which he



he has formed a most lively and elegant Style peculiar to himself, and hitherto inimitable; in which the Perfection of *Roman Urbanity* is easily distinguished by Readers of Taste and a polite Judgment.

AT the Taking of *Alba Græca*, in the Year Sixteen hundred and Eighty-eight, from the *Turks*, there was found the *Satyricon* of *Petronius*, said to be perfect; and afterwards published by one *Francis Nodotius*, a *French Gentleman*, who asserts it to be compleat; but the Truth of this is much questioned by many of the most learned Men. A considerable Fragment of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Trau* in *Dalmatia*, in the *Venetian Dominions*, by a Physician, about the Middle of the last Century. This occasioned a Controversy among the Critics, of which there is some Account in *Spon's Voyages*, who visited this Physician, and saw the Manuscript in question.

## EDITIONS of *PETRONIUS*.

*Commentariis & notis Variorum, accedunt Priapeia divers. Poet. Peruvigilium Veneris, &c. curâ Mich. Hadrianidis.* Amst. 1669. 8vo.

*Notis integris Variorum & Petri Burmanni.*

Traject. 1709. 4to.

*Edit. nitidiff. notis Joh. Bourdelotii.*

Parif. 1618. 12mo. Iterum Parif. 1677.

*Notis Nodotii.*

Lond. 1693. 12mo.



## CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS.

*CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS*,  
a Roman Historian, who flourished in the first Century. We know nothing of his Ancestors, and probably the Dignity of his Family began in his own Person. His first Employ is said to have been that of Procurator to *Vespasian* in *Gallia Belgica*. The Beginning of his Promotion, says *Lipsius*, was under *Vespasian*; by whom, as we have it from *Pliny*, being made Procurator in *Gallia Belgica*, he had the Care of that Prince's Revenues. Being returned to *Rome*, he received from the Emperor *Titus* a more honourable Post. He was Prætor under the Empire of *Domitian*, and Consul under *Nerva*. He says himself that *Domitian* exercised the Secular Games, “at  
“ which I gave a constant Attendance in re-  
“ gard to my Office, being one of the College  
“ of Priests, and at the same time Prætor;  
“ which, I do not mention out of Vanity, but  
“ because anciently that College, and especially  
“ that Magistracy, had always the Direction of  
“ the Ceremonies.”.

BUT

BUT all these Dignities gave him but very little Glory, compared with that which he procured to himself by the Performances of his Pen. His Annals and his History are something admirable, and, says Mr. *Bayle*, one of the greatest Efforts of the Human Mind; whether you consider the Singularity of the Style, or attend to the Beauty, Thoughts, and to that happy Pencil with which he knew how to paint the Disguises and Cheats of Politicians, and the Weakness of the Passions. Not (he goes on) but that he may be censured for the Affectation of his Language, and for his enquiring into the secret Motives of Actions, and pronouncing them criminal; but it is a great Compliment to his Understanding, to remark the Esteem which several Princes had for his Works. Pope *Paul* the Third, says *Muretus*, the most learned Man of our Age, wore out his *Tacitus*, by frequently reading him; nor did he meet with so much Pleasure in perusing any other profane Writer. *Cosmò de Medicis*, the first Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and formed for governing, who taught that what is commonly called Fortune, consists in Counsel and Prudence, held the Works of *Tacitus* in high Esteem, and read them with the greatest Delight. And at this very Day there are several Princes and Privy Counsellors to Princes who read him with great Application, and regard him as a sort of Oracle in Politics. The Marquis of *Spinola* translated him into his Mother-Tongue; and the learned *Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, held this Writer as Entertainment for her most serious Hours; some Pages of whose History she read constantly every Day.

HE

HE wrote Annals of the Public Affairs in sixteen Books, which begin at the Death of *Augustus Cæsar* and continue the Story almost to the End of *Nero*. We have but Part of them left, namely the four first Books, some Pages of the fifth, all the sixth, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, and Part of the sixteenth. The two last Years of *Nero*, and Part of the foregoing Year, are wanting: These are the last Books of the Work. He has left us a History likewise, which extends from the Reign of *Galba* inclusively, to the Reign of *Nerva* exclusively. He designed a particular Work for the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and that was the Business he reserved for his old Age; but it is supposed he never executed this Design. If my Life will permit, says he, I shall reserve the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* as a more copious and secure Subject for my old Age, as we enjoy that rare Felicity to think what we please, and say what we think. He wrote this History in the time of *Trajan*, and therefore it is supposed he continued it down to that time; but there is no more extant than five Books. *Lipsius* conjectures there are ten lost; for if they reached from *Galba* to *Trajan*, which includes at least a Space of twenty-one Years, it is probable the greatest part of them are wanting, since the five we have comprehend little more than the Occurrences of one Year.

IN all the Impressions of *Tacitus*, his Annals are printed before his History; the Reason is, because they have a farther Beginning, treating of the last Days of *Augustus*, and proceeding unto the End of *Nero's* Reign, whose last twelve Years are nevertheless wanting; whereas the Books of



his History seem to follow one another from the Epoch of the Death of that Tyrant, to the happy Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan*. And yet there is no doubt but this Writer first composed his History, as being nearer his own Time, for he quotes a Place in the eleventh of his Annals, to which he refers his Reader, concerning what he had already writ of the Actions of *Domitian*, which were no where mentioned by him but in the Books of his History. His Treatise concerning the Situation of *Germany*, and the Manners of the *Germans*, was written before his History and Annals, when *Trajan* was Consul a second time. The Life of *Agricola*, whose Daughter he had married, was written four Years after *Agricola's* Death, about the Beginning of *Trajan's* Government. The Dialogue concerning the *Causes of corrupt Eloquence* does not belong to *Tacitus*, though *Pomponius Sabinus*, a Grammarian of the middle Age, quotes a Passage out of this Dialogue, making *Tacitus* the Author, but the Style is so different, that he is justly acquitted of this Imputation.

WE meet with many great Encomiums of this Annalist in the Writings of learned Men, who yet some of them have not failed to mark out his Blemishes, and deliver down with some Severity his Mistakes and Imperfections. *Pliny* the younger, a very considerable Person, declares in many of his Epistles, that he esteemed him one of the most eloquent of his Age; he makes him judge of a Dispute he had about the Eloquence to be used in pleading at the Bar; he describes to one of his Friends the Pomp of *Virginus Rufus* his Funerals, observing his last and principal Happi-  
ness

ness to consist in the Praises of the Consul *Cornelius Tacitus*, who made his Funeral Oration, and was the most eloquent of that Time. When he imparts to another called *Arrian* the Success of a great Cause against a Proconsul of *Africa*, accused of robbing the publick Treasury, he says, that *Cornelius Tacitus* made a Replication to the Person that defended him, wherein his Eloquence and Gravity, inseparable from his Discourse, were greatly admired; and to compleat the Character, he declares that from his Youth he had chosen him for a Pattern of Eloquence from among the great Number of excellent Orators that were then in *Rome*.

*LIPSIUS* lays himself out in Commendation of this Historian, he is a useful and great Writer, that ought to be in the Hands of those that sit at the Helm of Government. In him let us consider the Courts of Princes, their private Lives, Councils, Commands, and Actions, and from the Similitude of those Times with ours, let us expect the like Events. His Style is by no means sordid or vulgar, but distinguished with frequent and unexpected Sentences, which for their Truth and Brevity may be compared to Oracles; he is indeed a wonderful Writer, for his is not only a History, but a Garden and Seminary of Precepts.

*TACITUS*, says *La Mothe*, is no less sententious than *Thucydides* or *Sallust*, but with such Artifice, that all the Maxims he lays down arises from the Nature of the Subjects he treats of; there is nothing foreign, affected, too far-fetched, or superfluous in what he writes; each Thought holds a Place which becomes it so well that it can-

not be disputed. But that which heightens the Merit of this Writer is the Observations which others have made before me, that one often learns no less from what he left unsaid, than what he expressed, his Silence being as instructive as his Language, and his Cyphers (to speak in the Terms of Numbers) as considerable as his most important Figures, because all therein described is full of Consideration, Proportion, and Judgment. The Emperor *Tacitus*, though invested in the supreme Dignity of the World, near two hundred Years after the Death of our Historian, esteemed it an Honour to have had such an Ancestor, and to be acknowledged one of his Posterity. He caused a Statue of him to be placed in all Libraries, and all his Books to be writ over ten times every Year, that they might pass down perfect to After-ages; and yet this extraordinary Caution could not preserve a great part of them from being hitherto undiscovered.

MR. *Gordon* (who has most wretchedly acquitted himself in the Translation of this Author) has launched out extravagantly in his Commendation: He was, says he, the greatest Orator, Statesman and Historian of his Time, he had long frequented the Bar, had passed through all the High Offices of State, he was *Ædile*, *Prætor*, *Consul*; and after long Acquaintance with Business and Men, he applied himself to collect Observations, and to convey the Fruits of his Knowledge to Posterity, under the agreeable Dress of a History: for this Task he was excellently qualified, no Man had seen more, scarce any Man had ever thought so much, or conveyed his Thoughts with greater Force and Vivacity;

a mighty Genius, for which no Conception or Design was too vast, a powerful Orator, who abounds in great Sentiments and Description, yet a Man of consummate Integrity, who, though he frequently agitates the Passions, never misleads them; a masterly Historian, who draws Events from their first Sources, and explains them with a Redundancy of Images, and a Frugality of Words; a profound Politician, who takes off every Disguise, and penetrates every Artifice; an upright Patriot, zealous for Public Liberty, and the Welfare of his Country, and a declared Enemy to Tyrants, and the Instruments of Tyranny; a Lover of Human Kind, a Man of Virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them, who abhors Falshood and Iniquity, despises little Arts, exposes bad ones, and shews upon all Occasions, by the Fate and Fall of great wicked Men, by the Anxiety of their Souls, by the Precariousness of their Power, by the Uncertainty or Suddenness of their Fate, what a poor Prize Greatness obtained is for Goodness lost, and how infinitely persecuted Virtue is preferable to smiling and triumphant Wickedness.

BUT there are learned Men of excellent Abilities who differ widely from the Sentiments of the Writers above mentioned, particularly from the last, who thinks himself no inconsiderable Observer, and displays his Talents in recommending his Author, as a mighty Statesman, of invincible Truth and Integrity, as the Fountain and Standard of Honesty and political Knowledge to all Posterity. The learned *Casaubon* in his Preface to *Polybius* speaks thus: If the Fortune of *Tacitus*



had not deprived him of a Subject worthy of his Faculties, he might have equalled any of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, but such Times fell under his Pen, especially in his *Annals*, as there never were any more polluted with Vices, or more destitute of, nay, enraged against all Virtues. We can easily excuse *Tacitus*, but not those who prefer this Author before all other Historians, recommending him as the Pattern of Statesmen and Princes, and the only one whence they and their Counsellors may collect the Rules of Government. Now if we are inclined to expose the Absurdity of this Opinion, it were easy to prove that those who hold it accuse our Princes of Tyranny, or would openly teach them the Principles of it; for what can be more pernicious, especially among young Men, than the reading those *Annals*, so full of vicious Examples? For as good Examples when they are frequently in sight improve a Man insensibly, so ill Examples must on the contrary hurt us, for by little and little they sink in our Minds, and obtain the Force of Precepts by being often heard or read.

THE *French* Critic *Rapin* has too much Reputation to be overlooked or omitted upon this Occasion. The Style of *Tacitus*, says he, is not very proper for History, for it is full of Starts, and when it shines it is like a Flash of Lightning, which dazzles more than it gives Light; he has a starting Wit, that skips from one Thing to another. His Sense comprehended in few Words is too close for the Reader's Capacity, which is often puzzled with it. And because he does not follow Nature in what he relates, and generally forgets

forgets that he speaks to Men, so he seldom instructs us as he should. As for Example, when upon the Occasion of the *Paphian* Law he relates the Original of Laws, or when in another place he describes the Privileges of Sanctuaries, he does not trace things back to their Beginnings. He never explains things thoroughly, nay sometimes he gives a false Account of them, as when he takes upon him to describe the *Jewish* Religion in the fifth Book of his History. His Style is very improper, which is a great Fault in an Historian, whose primary Function is to instruct. *Tacitus* is still more uneven than *Sallust*. His Connexions are generally forced, and the Thread of his Discourse very much broken and interrupted, which is no small Discouragement to the Reader, who cannot follow him without putting himself out of breath.

THERE can be no better and exacter Description than that which *Tacitus* makes of the Treat which the Empress *Messalina* gave to *Silius* her favourite Gallant. This was a Vintage Feast with all its Ceremonies, the Season being then Autumn, and favourable for that purpose. Mirth, Pleasure, Effeminacy, Wantonness, Impudence, Lewdness, and Debauchery, all in short is there described, with an exquisite Elegance and Delicacy of Expression. The Particulars are related succinctly, discreetly, and withal in a very lively manner; and nothing can be more judiciously placed to make, by that gay Picture, the Death of *Messalina*, which follows soon after, the more tragical and full of Horror. In short, there are some happy Circumstances which give a particular Grace to every thing, when a Man knows

how to employ and place them as he should. As for Figures, *Tacitus* is not so scrupulous, he seems to aim at nothing but to dazzle us. The Boldness of his Metaphors and other Tropes makes his Expression so high-strained and troublesome. He is an ill Husband of his Fire, for he uses it every where, his Colours also are too strong and glaring, and because he is often too expressive in some things and does not paint them to the Life, he therefore seldom affects us. A Description ought not to be too minute and particular, but such as is the Description of the Isle of *Caprea* in the fourth Book of the Annals; for we find in it the Reasons *Tiberius* had to retire thither towards his latter Days, which makes it necessary; and as it is concise, polite, elegant, and has nothing in it either impertinent or superfluous, it may be said to be a perfect one. Nothing can be finer than the Speech which *Tacitus* makes *Tiberius* speak to the Senate, upon the Reformation of Luxury, in the third Book of his Annals. Never did any Historian make a Prince speak with more Dignity. A Picture ought to be true and resembling, wherein *Tacitus* is not very exact, for he rather chuses to follow his own Fancy, than imitate Nature, and endeavours more to make fine Pictures than true ones. If his Pictures can but please, as that of *Sejanus* in the fourth Book of his Annals, he little cares whether they resemble or no; for he makes *Sejanus* a great deal worse than he was, if we can believe *Paterculus*, who commends him.

THE Politics of *Tacitus* are often false, because his Morals are not true; either he makes the Men too bad, or he is not himself plain enough.

enough. His Reflections are not natural, because they want Innocence. He poisons and puts an ill Construction upon Things. He has by that Humour spoiled several People, who imitate him in that, though not able to do it in any thing else.

THE Question of the *Phœnix*, which is related in the sixth Book of his Annals, (upon the Occasion of the News brought to *Rome* of a *Phœnix* which appeared in *Egypt* under the Reign of *Tiberius*) is according to the Rules of an allowable Digression. The Question is scanned and examined by the different Opinions of the Naturalists about this extraordinary Bird, whose Qualities, Figure and Shape are succinctly described. These sort of Strokes in a Narration are a great Ornament to it, and serve wonderfully well to stir up the Reader's Curiosity, and keep his Attention awake. This that follows is a fine Stroke; in the height of the Mirth and Frolicks of that famous Treat which *Messalina* gave her Lover, they caused a poor simple Fellow called *Valens* to get up into a Tree, and asked him what he saw? *A Storm*, said he, *which gathers in the Air, and comes from Ostia*. These Words spoken by that blundering Fellow, spoiled presently all their Sport, and cast a deep Sadness into every Body, though blurted out at random, and without design; for they were a Prognostication of the Return of the Emperor, who arriving soon after, caused the Empress to be stabbed, being grown weary of her Lewdness. Those Strokes that have something surprizing in them are very happy in History.



*TACITUS* has no good Moals (he goes on) he is a great Dodger, and covers a bad Soul under a very fine Wit. He is mistaken in true Merit, because he thinks there can be no other than that of being cunning, and he always speaks more out of Policy than according to Truth. He not only has ill Thoughts of his Neighbours, but also he shews no Piety nor Reverence for the Gods, as one may see in his Discourse upon Fate against Providence, in the sixth Book of his Annals, wherein he ascribes all to the Stars and blind Chance, upon the Occasion of *Trafullus*, one of *Tiberius's* Astrologers, who was grown his Confidant at *Caprea*. So difficult it is for an ill Man to be a good Historian, for one has generally the same Principles with the other. *Tacitus* relates so many Obscenities of *Tiberius*, that *Boccaline* cannot bear with him for it. He has a particular Way of describing Things and Persons, different from all the rest, but he sticks too much at great Things, and will not descend to the little ones, which are not always to be slighted. He thinks well, but he does not always hit upon a clear Expression. He is sometimes too much a Philosopher. He is peremptory in his Decisions upon every Thing, and speaks as if the Fate of the World lay at his Mercy. He moralizes upon the Follies of others, that he may lash every Body, and speak ill of all Mankind. He has spoiled a world of People by creating in them a Desire of studying Politics, which is the most vain and useless of all Studies.

THIS Critic speaks thus of this Historian, in another Place: *Tacitus*, says he, has an admirable

mirable Genius, but he generally out-shoots the Sublime ; he is noble enough in his Thoughts, but is not natural in what he thinks ; 'tis true he has abundance of Wit, but such sort of Wit that cannot speak of plain Things in a plain manner, for he is still politic and artificial in every Thing he says ; his Work is not so much an History as Reflections upon History ; he busied himself in making Reflections, being forestalled by others, who left nothing new for him to say, which determined him to that Way he took, wherein he succeeded, and made himself considerable.

THE learned Author of the *Anonymiana*, or *Miscellanies* of Poetry, Oratory and Learning, has sifted the Character of this Historian with great Nicety, but I think with too little Candour. *Tacitus*, says he, was an able Politician, and a yet more judicious Writer ; he has drawn very just Consequences from the Transactions of the Reigns of which he wrote the History, and has formed Maxims from them for the well-governing of a State. But if he has sometimes assigned to the Actions and Commotions of the Republic their true Principles, if he has rightly unravelled their Causes, it must be owned that he has often supplied with too much Nicety and Penetration those Actions which had none ; so true is it that Men characterize themselves in whatever they do, and that the Writing of History never is in the Hands in which it ought to be, when those who undertake it, being ignorant of the true Cause of an Action, assign to it that Cause which they imagine to be the least sensible, and most concealed from the Eyes of

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the People. They often happen to represent that as a particular Secret in the Breast of the Prince, which was a Matter public to all the World. And this is a Fault so familiar with *Tacitus*, that I dare venture to say, supported otherwise by a great many good Reasons, that it is paying him too great a Compliment to take him for a very exact Historian, who has written according to Rules——He has made choice of the nicest Actions, and the most susceptible of the Delicacies of Art; those Reigns in which he has principally applied himself in his History are no small Proof of this. In that of *Tiberius*, which is without dispute his Master-piece, and in which he has best succeeded, he found a kind of Government more adapted to the Character of his Genius. He loved to unfold the Intrigues of the Cabinet, to assign their Causes, to turn Pretences into Designs, and deceitful Appearances into Realities. A Genius too subtle, who saw some Mystery in all the Actions of this Prince. A sincere Deference of his Designs to the Judgment of the Senate was sometimes a Snare laid for their Integrity, sometimes a nice way of becoming their Master, and always the Art of making them the Accomplices of his Designs, and of executing them without any Reproach. When he punished the Seditious, it was an Effect of his natural Diffidence of the Citizens, or some slight Marks of Anger spread among the People to dispose their Minds for greater Cruelties. Here the Contrariety of Humours of two Generals is the secret Method of crossing the Fortune of a Competitor, and the Means to lessen him in the Affections of the People. The Ho-  
nours

nours conferred on those that deserved them, were genteel ways of removing a Rival, or of destroying an Enemy, and always fatal Recompences. In a word, Policy has a hand in every thing; Vice and Virtue are there equally dangerous, and Favours as fatal as Disgraces. *Tiberius* is never natural, he does not do the most ordinary Actions of other Men without Design; his Repose is never without Consequence, and his Motions are always full of Contrivances.

——*Tacitus* only touched upon History occasionally, he appears more an Orator than any thing else, his sole Design was to exercise his Eloquence. He relates few Events; he makes long and frequent Digressions, and his Carelessness and Affectation are too apparent. He acts the Part of an Orator, who seeks to applaud himself, and who turns and manages different Facts to his own Advantage.——Even in their very Tents, in the middle of a Camp, or of an Army, dying Men make Specches with the same Exactness and Presence of Mind, which a Person in Health would be capable of shewing, if he was to compose them in his Study; sometimes this Fondness for expatiating is so predominant, that he does not stay till a General of an Army is at the Head of his Troops to harangue them, but makes him write Orders like a Schoolmaster full of Antitheses and Rhetorical Figures.

THE first five Books of the Annals were found in *Germany* by a Receiver of *Lea* the Tenth; that Pontiff having published a Brief, by which he promised not only Indulgence to those who should discover *Tacitus's* Manuscripts, but



but also Money and Honour; there was a *German* who searched all the Libraries, and at last found some Books of the Annals in the Abby of *Corwey*, which is a Monastery on the *Wefer*. He went and presented them to the Pope, who received them with great Pleasure, and asked him what Recompence he desired. The *German* was content to be reimbursed the Charges he had been at in going to view those Libraries, and in his Journey to *Rome*. *Leo* thought that was too little, and gave him a Reward of five hundred Gold Crowns.

### EDITIONS of *TACITUS*.

*Cum Velleio Paterculo, commentariis Variorum & Notis* Car. Auberti. Paris. 1608. Fol.

*Et Velleius Paterc. Comment.* Justi Lipsii.

Antverp. 1688. Fol.

*Ad usum serenif. Delphini editus est, Notis utilis.* 4 vol. Paris. 1682. 4to.

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Elzev. Amst. 1672. 8vo.

*Iterum ad verbum recusus,* 2 vol.

Amst. 1685. 8vo.

*Animadversionibus* Theod. Ryckii, 2 vol.

Lug. Bat. 1687. 12mo.

*Editio nitidiff. typis* Elzevirii.

Lug. Bat. 1640. 12mo.

*LUCIUS*



# LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS.

THE Y who place *Lucius Florus* under the Reign of *Trajan*, are obliged to correct that Place of his Preface, where he says, there was little less than two hundred Years from *Augustus's* Time to his. The most probable Opinion is, that he was of a little later Date : And it is believed, that the Poet *Florus*, whose Verses *Spartianus* quotes in the Life of the Emperor *Adrian*, is the same of whom we now write, the Author of the Epitome of the *Roman* History in four Books. The Verses are in a very familiar Style :

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,  
Ambulare per Britannos,  
Scythicas pati Pruinas.*

The Emperor *Adrian* was addicted to Poetry, as may be seen by the pleasant Answer which he returned :

*Ego nolo Florus esse  
Ambulare per Tabernas,  
Latitare per Popinas,  
Calices pati rotundos.*

IT is easy to observe, that the Phrase of *Florus* is wholly poetical; and that the Love of *Parnassus* caused him sometimes to employ Hemisticks in his Periods. But though he seems very licentious in it, and his Speech and Expressions often favour more of a Declaimer than an Historian; yet we must affirm *Sigonius* to be unjust, when he styles him an *impertinent Writer*. The Method observed by *Florus*, in giving an account of the several Wars in a separate Order, did not deserve so severe a Censure; and it is evident, that he was ever confessed to have been a fluent Author, full of Eloquence and very agreeable Flowers of Oratory. He abounds every where with most ingenious Sentences, with Thoughts expressed with the utmost Force and Vehemency. Believe me, says the learned *Colerus*, you will peruse that terse Piece with no less Pleasure than you would look upon one of the Pictures of *Apelles*; it is so well composed, and so elegant. I admire, says he, that Judgment, which could insert Sentences with so great Prudence and Brevity, in such a Heap and Variety of Things; and laying aside some little Places which may be thought more frigid, in comparison of others, many refined Precepts are contained in what he writes, which could not be expressed in better Terms.

SOME doubt whether *Florus*, who composed the four Books above-mentioned, was the same who prefixed the Arguments to the Books of *Livy's* History. It is certainly a great Mistake to believe, that he intended to epitomize the whole History of *Livy* in his four Books; for he observes no regard to his Method in various Places, but rather indulges his own Fancy. He

is so extravagant in reference to Chronology or the Account of Time, that it is not safe to follow or rely upon him. He is censured for contriving the Loss of *Livy's* Works, in order to raise the Value of his own Collections; but this Charge is without Foundation, and cannot be supported.

THERE are some, who suppose *Seneca* to be the Author of the compendious History of *Florus*; because *Lactantius*, in the seventh Book of his Divine Institutions, mentions a Division of the *Roman* Empire into four different Seasons, ascribing metaphorically to it *Infancy*, *Youth*, *Virility* and *Old Age*; which he attributes to *Seneca's* Invention. And because the same Division is to be found in the Preface to the Books of *Florus*, they would conclude *Seneca* to be the Author of them; and that the Name of *Florus* is false and supposititious. But these Authors are so different in their Way of Writing, that this Remark is not to be justified. *Seneca* makes the Youth or Adolescence of *Rome*, as he calls it, to reach to the End of the last *Punic* War; whilst *Florus* makes it to continue but to the first. And *Seneca* begins its Old Age, when the Civil Wars arose between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*; whereas *Florus* accounts it from the Establishment of *Augustus* in the absolute Power of the Empire. It is more reasonable to believe, that *Lactantius* was mistaken, than to imagine that all the Manuscripts should err, which have placed *L. Annaeus Florus* in the Title of the Books we now mention. But perhaps *Florus* and *Seneca* being both of the same Family, that of the *Annæi*, it is possible their Names might by some means



means have been confounded ; and that *Florus* was therefore sometimes called *Seneca*, as he is in some old Copies, where he is sometimes distinguished by the Name of *Julius*. It is certain, that the Family of the *Annæi* has produced many excellent Persons in various sorts of Literature : *Seneca* the Philosopher, the Tragedian and Rhetorician, (if they are three) sufficiently prove it ; as well as the Poet *Lucan*, and our Historiographer *Florus*, whose Style retains something of the Genius of the *Annæan* Writers, born all to be Masters in Eloquence and Poetry.

THERE was another *Julius Florus*, more ancient than the Historiographer, who lived in *Tiberius's* Reign. *Seneca*, in his Controversies, says, that he was instructed in the Art of Speaking well by the Orator *Portius Latro*. And *Quintilian*, speaking of that *Florus*, says, he was the Prince of Eloquence, and the public Professor of it in *Gallia*. They who build upon the Surname of *Julius*, (which, as was before observed, some Manuscripts apply to him) imagine our Author was descended from that other *Florus*, of whom *Seneca* and *Quintilian* have made such honourable mention. But this is a meer Conjecture, too light to deserve a further Reflection.

AMONG the Licences *Florus* has assumed, there is one so poetical and strangely hyperbolical, that *Scaliger* with reason blames him in his Commentaries upon *Eusebius*, for having in a mistaken Zeal suffered himself to be led away by a mean and childish Appetite of relating wonderful Things to the Prejudice of Truth. It is where  
he

he relates the Expedition of *Decimus Brutus* along the *Celtic*, *Galician* and *Portuguese* Coasts, and alledges that *Brutus* never stopped his victorious Course till he beheld the Sun fall into the Ocean, and heard with Horror its Fire hissing in the Waters ; which gave him a certain Apprehension of being sacrilegious, and having done more than his Religion permitted. The same Desire of writing something marvellous, deserves to be censured ; where he speaks of the Defeat of the *Gimbri* by *Marius*. He pretends that two young Men were seen in *Rome* near the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, presenting to the *Prætor* Letters adorned with Laurel, as a sure Token for a compleat Victory. I shall (says *La Mothe*) on this occasion lay down a Maxim, That if an Historian sometimes inserts any thing in his Narration of so extraordinary a nature, he ought at the same time to signify the small Faith he has in it, and protest that he meerly reports it as a popular Rumour.

THE History of *Florus* contains a Compendium of the *Roman* Affairs, from *Romulus* to the Time of *Trajan*, finely, plainly and elegantly written. The Accuracy and Brevity of it are very often wonderful, and (as *Lipsius* observes) there are many shining Sentences like Jewels interspersed throughout, both with Judgment and Truth. But at the same time we may say with *Tan. Faber*, this acute and elegant Work is not to be read or esteemed as a History ; but rather as a Panegyrick or Declamation, in commendation of the *Roman* Empire, and that mighty People. He is irregular in his Order of Time, and careless in the Names of Men and Officers ;

## 236 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

Officers ; which often disturbs his Sense, and confounds the Reader. The Elegancy of his Style is generally commended, and the Sprightliness of his Fancy has obtained him the Name of *The Witty Historian.*

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*A Laur. Begero Commentariis & Nummis illustratus.*  
Colon. 1704. Fol.

*Ad usum sereniss. Delphini editus est.*

Paris. 1674. 4to.

*Notis Varior.* Cl. Salmasii, & Joh. Geo. Grævii.  
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*Iterum, 2 vol.*

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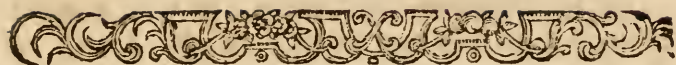
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Amst. 1722. 8vo.

*Editio nitidiss. typis Elzevir.* Ludg. Bat. 1638. 12mo.



S U E T O.



## S U E T O N I U S T R A N Q U I L L U S .

*CAIUS S U E T O N I U S T R A N Q U I L -*  
*LUS* was a *Roman* born ; his Father, who  
 called himself *Suetonius Lenis* (a Surname differ-  
 ing only in Sound from that which his Son bore)  
 being by Extraction only an ordinary Gentleman  
 of *Rome*, yet was preferred to the Tribuneship  
 of a Legion by the Emperor *Otho*, whose side  
 he took against *Vitellius*. This Writer was born  
 about the Beginning of the Reign of *Vespasian*,  
 as may be collected from his own Words in the  
*Life of Nero*. His first Years, in all probability,  
 he passed at *Rome* ; for he says, when he was a  
 Youth he remembers himself to have seen an  
 old Man of ninety inspected in open Court,  
 whether he was circumcised or not. Grown  
 up to Manhood he betook himself to the Bar,  
 where he practised with great Reputation ; not  
 but that he had a Tribune's Office given him,  
 but whether it were that he liked not a military  
 Life, or that he understood not martial Affairs,  
 he declined it ; and before he was mustered, by  
 means of his good Friend the younger *Pliny*,  
 who procured the Place for him, he got it to  
 be



be transferred upon his Kinsman *Cæfennius Sylvanus*.

IN his Pleading of Causes, it was a great hindrance to him that he was not the Father of Children, there being a Law at *Rome* by which many Immunities and Privileges were given to such. Some of these were a Freedom from bearing any Office which required personal Attendance, and a Preference at the Bar, that their Motion might be first heard; very considerable Advantages to one in his Circumstances. Now the Emperors had always a Power of granting the like to those who were childless; but it being looked upon as contrary to Law, *Trajan*, who was an excellent Prince, bestowed these Favours very sparingly, and would not exceed his Number which the Senate had allowed. In this case his old Friend *Pliny* solicits for him, and that with Success; and because his Letter to the Emperor gives us a true Character of *Suetonius*, and is a great Instance of the strict Friendship that was between them, I shall offer it in *English*. It is the ninety-fifth Epistle of the tenth Book.

S I R,

“ I HAVE lately taken into my Acquaintance  
 “ *Suetonius Tranquillus*, a Man of great Pro-  
 “ bity, Honour and Learning, allured by the  
 “ Sweetness of his Conversation, and being much  
 “ pleased with the Scope of his Studies; and still  
 “ the nearer I approach, and the more I know  
 “ him, I love him the better. He has not been  
 “ so fortunate in his Marriage, but that the Pri-  
 “ vilege

“vilege of *three Children* is very necessary to him  
 “in his Business at the Bar, which in the Opi-  
 “nion of his Friends he well deserves. By me  
 “he beseeches you to supply what his ill Fortune  
 “has denied him. I know, Sir, the high Value  
 “of the Favour I beg, but I am begging of you,  
 “whose most bounteous Indulgence to all my  
 “Requests I have experienced. And you may  
 “gather with what Earnestness I desire this, be-  
 “cause if I had been cold in my Wishes, I would  
 “have staid till I could have asked it by Word of  
 “Mouth.”

To this Letter *Trajan* gave an answer to the  
 Satisfaction of both Friends, conferring on *Suetonius*  
 the Privilege he desired. After the Death of  
*Trajan* he was made Secretary of State to the  
 Emperor *Adrian*, which is an Evidence that he  
 possessed besides the Knowledges of great Affairs,  
 a competent Capacity to deliver them in proper  
 and apt Expressions. It is said his Employment  
 was taken from him because of some private Fa-  
 miliarity he had with the Empress *Sabina*, or ra-  
 ther because he had not treated her with proper  
 Reverence and Respect; it is certain that *Adrian*  
 had no great Regard for his Empress, and there-  
 fore several of his Courtiers took the Liberty to  
 slight and affront her; among them *Septicius Cla-*  
*rus* and *Suetonius* overdid the matter, and were  
 therefore turned out of their Places. But it hap-  
 pens sometimes that particular Disgraces are use-  
 ful to the Public, as was evidenced in his Person;  
 for his Fall, and the Leisure he had by it, reduced  
 him to a studious Contemplation, which has pro-  
 duced, among other Works, the Lives of the  
 twelve

twelve *Cæsars*, which gives him a Place among the best Historians.

THE *Roman History* is never mentioned without speaking very advantageously of *Suetonius*: This Writer, says *Politian*, besides his descriptive Art, which is admirable, has likewise given us plain Proof of his Diligence, Veracity, and Freedom; there is no room for any Suspicion of Partiality or Ill-will in his Books; nothing is said out of Favour, nor suppressed out of Fear; the Facts themselves have engrossed his whole Attention, and he has consulted Truth in the first place; by which it appears that his Work was framed (as *Thucydides* says) not for a transitory View, or to serve a present Purpose. He was so far from being influenced by the Motives of Fear or Favour to detract any thing from the Truth, that he rather chose not to write the Lives of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, the Emperor of his Time, than to run any risque by speaking ill of the Persons then alive, or to seem less free and impartial by extolling his Superiors. I very often, says *Lipsius*, recommend *Suetonius Tranquillus* to the Youth, and not without reason; if you examine his Words, they are pure, neat, proper; if the whole Thread of his Discourse, it is short and nervous; if you consider his Subject, it is both an useful and pleasant History; and, which chiefly weighs with me, it is full of Morality and ancient Learning. *Vopiscus* styles him a most correct and candid Writer; *Sidonius Apollinaris* says he was inexpressibly fine, and *Ausonius* that he was extremely elegant; *Ludovicus Vives* prefers him for Diligence and Fidelity before all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers. He seems, says he, to have written

ten the Lives of the twelve *Cæsars* with great Integrity, because he conceals not the Vices or Suspensions of Vices in the very best Princes, nor does he dissemble the Colours of Virtue in the worst. St. *Jerom* professes himself to have made *Suetonius* his Pattern when he wrote the Lives of those illustrious Men, who succeeded the Times of the Apostles; and *Erasmus* gives his Testimony, I suppose it is on all Hands agreed among the Learned, that for what relates to the Truth of History, the first place is due to *Suetonius*, who, as one wittily said, wrote the *Lives of the Cæsars with the same Liberty with which themselves led them*.

BESIDES his *Cæsars*, we have part of his Treatise of the illustrious Grammarians, and that of the Rhetoricians, and some Remains of another which contained the Lives of the Poets; for that of *Terence* is almost all of *Suetonius's* Writing, as *Donatus* himself confesses, who adds something to it. And the Lives of *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Lucan*, and *Perseus*, are probably of the same Composition. We are not to believe that what is extant of the Elder *Pliny's* Life, under the Name of *Suetonius*, is of his Writing; and if the Style were no Objection, the Phrase is enough to discover it to be of a more modern Contexture. *Suetonius* was too much a Friend to the Younger *Pliny* to speak so coldly, and say so little of his Uncle, who was a most worthy Person. One may read in *Aulus Gellius*, and others, the Titles of several Compositions of *Suetonius*, which we have lost; as that of the *Games*, and *Spectacles* or *Shows* represented by the *Romans*. The Republic



lic of *Cicero*; an Account of the illustrious Families of *Rome*, and many others.

THE Style of this Writer, says *Colerus*, is short and nervous, and no Man has more diligently intermixed the public Rites. He is most exact and candid, and not obnoxious to any Man; for who ever wrote the Temper or Humours and Manners of Princes with a greater Freedom? Courtiers and Statesmen may from hence reap much Advantage, and may also from *Suetonius* at the same time learn to detest Flattery.

THERE are some Critics who affirm that the Beginning of the first Book of his *Cæsars* is wanting, and their Opinion is founded upon the Improbability that *Suetonius* should have writ nothing of the Birth and first Years of *Julius Cæsar*, when he took the Pains to search into the Original and Education of eleven other Emperors that succeeded him, whose Lives he has described. *Muret* in his Oration upon *Tacitus* is somewhat severe: It were to be wished, says he, that we had not from *Suetonius* learned so many Riots and shameful Vices as he declares to have been practised by the *Tiberii*, *Nerones*, and *Caligulae*. They are, as he charges, so filthy, that they almost make the Paper blush, upon which they are represented. And if what one of the Ancients says be true, that there is but little Difference between him who describes such Infamy with Care, and he who teaches it, *Suetonius* cannot be excused without difficulty, for acting such a Part as he did. And to augment his Charge, he is accused of having used the *Christians* ill, calling them a Sort of Men who embraced a new and mischievous Superstition, which occasioned their Persecution in the Time of

of *Nero*. But if it be a Crime in him, what Historians of Repute can be excused, who have represented the wicked Actions of those they write of, which make the greatest and often the most considerable part of the Narration? Does not the sacred History itself shew us Parricides, Incests, Idolatry, and many other Profanations among the best Examples, and the most divine Instructions? And ought we not to cast into the Fire all the Books of those Pagans who have writ since the Beginning of Christianity, if what they exposed against our Religion should make us absolutely condemn it?

THE Objection against *Suetonius* for being so particular in describing the lewd Actions and horrid Debaucheries of many of the *Cæsars* is strongly represented by *Muretus*. It is certain, says he, that many of the *Cæsars* lived up to the height of Looseness and Debauchery, what Praise is it then for any Man to have equalled their Crimes by the Immodesty of his Description, and to have set before the Eyes of Men in bare-faced and obscene Words their vile Actions, which should rather have been buried in perpetual Oblivion? You find nothing more frequently mentioned in *Suetonius* than Catamites, and the Authors of unnatural Lusts. *Sporus* married to *Nero*, and *Nero* to *Doryphorus*. He does not even forget the Expressions which they made use of in the middle of their Crimes, as if it concerned Posterity to know these things, the bare Mention of which should make not only the Author but the Paper itself to blush. Nevertheless he insists upon them so minutely and particularly, as if he had a mind to teach them. We find nothing like this in *Tacitus*; he either

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passes

passes over such Things, or he hints at them in such a manner as shews his Hatred and Abhorrence, but does not eagerly dwell upon them as the other does. Wherefore let *Suetonius* shine among the *Vopisci*, the *Spartiani*, the *Lampridii*, and other Writers of Lives of that sort; in this he is preferable to them, that the Age in which he lived gave him an Opportunity of writing in a better *Latin* Style than they; but if he should aspire to the Glory of *Tacitus*, or dare to compare himself with him, he would be censured by all learned Men. I for my part look upon *Suetonius* to be no less hurtful to young People than the reading of *Catullus* or *Martial*. Nay, I think it even dangerous to Men of a ripe Age. This is a severe Remark. It must be allowed that this Writer gave a great deal of Liberty to his Pen, the Inquiries he made into the Vices of the *Cæsars* were very singular; nevertheless he was a Man of approved Morals, and of great Virtue.

THE particular Account, says *Bayle*, that *Suetonius* gives of the Debauchery of the Emperors is no Proof that he was a lewd Man; or that he took delight in describing lewd Actions, nor in general that there was any thing wanting in his Probity and Honesty; it shews only that he was a very ingenuous and sincere Writer, and that he believed an Historian ought faithfully to relate the Truth of all Events he can discover; and those who are never so little qualified to judge of the Character of an Author by his way of writing, will be of Opinion that *Suetonius* was only directed by his singular and natural Ingenuity, and not by a Desire of amusing or tickling the Passions. It ought to be presumed, that he designed to punish  
Vice

Vice as much as an Historian can punish it, and to cast a Blot upon the Memory of those monstrous Men, by transmitting it to future Ages, attended with all the Execration it deserves, and that he thought such a Method might in time prevent the like Brutalities.

I MUST not conceal that those who are willing to know the Date of each Event are very much displeased with *Suetonius*. This Historian has wholly neglected it; he does not observe any Chronological Order, and indeed it was no part of his Design; and it is to be observed, he is very excusable for fixing upon a Scheme of Writing which did by no means require such a Method. There were Histories enough which contained an exact Account of the Reign of the Emperors according to the Time in which every thing has been done, and therefore he did not think it proper to compose a Work of the same Nature, but rather chose to discover the Actions of the Emperors in their most private Characters and Retirements.

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*Notis & Numismatibus illustratus* a Car. Patino. Basil. 1675. 4to.

*Notis integris* Is. Casauboni, Læv. Torrentii, Joh. Geo. Grævii, & *selectis aliorum. æneis fig.*

Hage. Com. 1691. 4to.

*Notis Variorum* & Sam. Pitisci, 2 vol. *æneis figuris.*

Lugd. Bat. 1692. 8vo.

*Iterum, auctioribus* Sam. Pitisci *Notis, & multis fi-*



## 246 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

*garis illust.* 2 vol.

Leovard. 1714. 4to.

*Ad usum sereniss.* Delphini editus est.

Parif. 1684. 4to.

*· Editio nitidiff. & elegantiff. Typis prodiit e Typogr.*

*regiâ.*

Parisiis, 1644. 12mo.



## PLINIUS JUNIOR.

**C**AIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS was born, about sixty two Years after the Nativity, at *Novo-Comum*, a Town of *Italy*, eminent for nothing so much as of being the Place of Birth of so great a Man; however, by his grateful Munificence it was soon made more populous and remarkable by the Encouragement he there gave to the Inhabitants in the erecting of a publick School, liberally endowed, with a Library adjoining so competently furnished, that no question it invited a choice Resort.

HE was the Son of *L. Cæcilius* by a Sister of *Pliny*, the Natural Historian. He lost his Father while young, who for aught we know left him no other Legacy but that of a good Example. His widowed Mother, destitute of the Helps of Education, delivers him up to his learned and wealthy Uncle, who yet resolved, if degenerate in Virtue, not to own him allied in Blood. This Trial was soon made, and our Eaglet stood the Test. For by a vigilant Observation of his Inclinations and Deportment, the old

old Gentleman was so well satisfied, that by the Custom of their Laws he adopted him into a nearer Relation, and at his Death (occasioned by the Eruptions of *Vesuvius*) left him Heir of his Name and Fortunes. But before this Casualty he had been very provident for the Breeding of his Nephew. He assigned him first to *Quintilian* that Master of Eloquence, who transfused into him all those Precepts which hitherto so richly oblige the World, and he found him so quick, so tractable, that he never saw reason to spur his Industry, or amend his Apprehension; he had in him the luscious Comfort of a docile Learner, and the only Danger was, lest his Jealousies might have curbed that Forwardness he was surprized at, and made him inclinable to suspect that from his Scholar he would soon commence his Rival. But he preferred his Duty before any envious Regards, and it is certain did not only initiate him in the Elements of that Art he professed, but laid him in Directions for the methodizing of all his future Studies; which the obedient Pupil so embraced, that when emancipate from his more immediate Discipline, he still copied his Prescriptions, and conformed to that Model which was set him by so able an Architect. As appears particularly from his so often running through the Decads of *Livy*, which was a Task no question advised him by his great Instructor, who always betrayed a singular Affection for this Author, and in his most excellent Institutions recommends him as most worthy of a repeated Perusal.

WHEN thus lectured in Rhetoric he was now ripe for a Course in Philosophy, and to

## 248 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

enter upon this under as expert a Guide as he had attained the former, he was given up to the Tuition of *Nicetes*, a learned Priest. Under his Government he made so good a Proficiency, that his Uncle with Joy perceived he was fitted both for Years and Learning to reap the Advantages and conquer the Inconveniences of a foreign Travel, which he knew well was a compleating Piece of Education. With these Hopes he dispatched him to *Syria*, which was then as much the common Mart of Literature as *Egypt* had been before. Yet the wary old Uncle would not trust him with a Disposal of his own Time, but lest too great a Leisure might expose him to such Temptations which he should not strive to resist, he provides him an Employ, and lists him a young Volunteer, where he served as if Arms were to be his Diversion, not his Trade; and therefore he was oft allowed leave to retire from the Camp to his Studies, in which he had the most eminent Director those Countries could afford, the famed *Euphrates*, whose Lectures he devoutly heard, and was possibly the greatest Encourager, if not the sole Motive, of his after Remove to *Rome*.

WHEN by a Visit of the most remarkable Places, an Observance of their Policy, and a Mastery of the Language, he had completely answered the Design of his going Abroad, he prepares to depart, and laded with those Accomplishments which are the richest Cargo of a Traveller, he returns to his expecting Friends; but ere a long abode with his Mother and Uncle, he loses the latter, and thereby at eighteen Years of Age succeeds to a plentiful Estate. Among other Legacies, that which he most  
prised

prised was a hundred and sixty Volumes of his Uncle's Works, filled up in the Margin, and wrote on the very Covers, all by his own Hand ; for which, when their Number was somewhat less, he had in *Spain* been offered four hundred thousand Sesterces. The compiling of these argued him an indefatigable Student, and being so severe an Accounter for his own Time, he might less invidiously urge others to an Improvement of theirs, which his Nephew assures us was his constant Humour ; he was always a lecturing him into Industry, and was so impatient of his least Remissions from Study, that seeing him one Day walking, (and possibly intent on a Recollection of what he had lately read) he chid him for so idle a Diversion, and sharply told him he might be better employed. So that this Method of a sedentary Intenseness might probably first have been taken up by our young Student out of a Design to oblige the old Man, till it passed from a constrained Custom to a settled Habit, from an assiduous Practice to a voluntary Inclination. It is worth the Pains to relate, that he gave one notorious Instance of it. When his Uncle at *Mycenæ* in a Surprise at the Inflammation of *Vesuvius*, was sailing out to take a nearer Prospect of the Danger, he comes and asks his Nephew to accompany him in that, which proved his last Voyage ; but he bluntly waves the Invitation, and fairly tells him he had rather continue at his Books : Though he durst not without doubt have been so rough to one whose Years might suppose him peevish, and yet whose Favour it was so much his Interest to retain, if he had not foreseen it would be so far from being resented as a Contempt or Affront,



that it would be the most taking Compliment he could possibly return.

HE had not been long entered upon his new Inheritance before his Resolves of Settlement were directed to *Rome*, where he fixed his Residence, not because the Town and the Court might be most opportune for a Stage of Pleasure and Diversion, but that he thought here the most advantageous Platform to build up his future Fortunes. And therefore he would not be flushed into a Spark or Gallant, but sensible that the best Husbandry of his Revenues would be the Purchase of a good Name, he toiled so hard in Retirement, and relaxed himself so well in Company, that he soon gained the Repute of a smart and solid Gentleman. The most early Specimen of his Parts he had given in the Composition of a *Greek* Tragedy at fourteen Years of Age, wherein he so happily approved himself in the proper Genius of Sublime, in the true Air of the Buskin, that he superviyed his Years, and in his Nonage wrote Man by the best Periphrasis. A Success in this soon heated him on to fresh Attempts, and in his Voyage from *Syria* about Seventeen, he falls upon *Latin* Elegiacs in the *Icarian* Sea, which we need not doubt were soft and smooth. But he knew these were juvenile Sports, which it would be fatal to be addicted to, and therefore when he had enough for bare Accomplishment, resolved to make no Employ of what had Poverty and Affectation entailed for a Curse; he was not so fond of the Beggar or the Fop, but that he steered his Endeavours to a more honourable Port, and applies himself to a Study of the Civil Law; in this he soon

soon commenced so hopeful a Proficient, [that upon a short Preparation he was ripe for the Bar, and before twenty appeared for his Client in the *Roman Forum*, where his Pleadings were so connect, and his Delivery so becoming, that there was scarce, afterwards any Cause of Moment wherein he was not by one of the Parties retained.

FROM the *Forum* he advanced to the Senate, and could argue before that August Assembly with as much Courage as he had done in the more inferior Courts. And here he was engaged in several of the most important Concerns, as the Management of the *Spaniards* Charge against *Bebius Massa*, the prosecuting of their Informations against *Cæcilius Classicus*, the Defence and Acquittal of *Julius Bassus* and *Varenus*; and what was most eminent, he opened the Impeachment of *Marius Priscus* Proconsul of *Africa*, charged by his Province with Bribery and Extortion; in the urging of this he was so brisk and resolute, nay, so eager and intent, that the kind Emperor more than once ordered the Freeman to whisper and advise his Master that he should not injure his Lungs, nor drain his Spirits, not over-charge his Constitution; however, with humble Thanks for the Caution, he zealously proceeds, and so exposes the Case, that the Senate confess themselves infinitely satisfied, and the Criminal was sentenced to perpetual Banishment.

HE was too eminent to be thought useless, and therefore his Country soon proposed to experience his Abilities in some more public Station. Hence he was honoured with a Commission to supervise

the Repairs of the *Æmilian* Way. He was a splendid *Prætor* for the City, a zealous *Tribune* for the People, a faithful *Questor* for the Emperor, a *Præfect* of the Treasury for the State, and an *Augur* for the Gods. But his most active Preferences were his Proconsular Dignity in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and his Consulship at *Rome*; in the former (which was last executed) he held a constant Correspondence with his Imperial Master *Trajan*, and took all his Measures from his Advice, which he conformed to with so much of Resolution and Dispatch, that he won on the Affections of his Province, countermined the Malice of his Enemies, and for ever secured the Favour of his Prince.

It was from hence he dated that generous Testimony and Character he gave the *Christians*; for it being the Mistake of *Trajan* that this growing Sect would interrupt and disturb the Peace of his Empire, he had given Instructions to all his Ministers to suppress them by a smart Persecution. Our Proconsul knew these Orders must be obeyed through the Extent of his Jurisdiction; yet he thought it not impertinent to give his honoured Lord some account of the Humours and Behaviour of the Men, before he went on to the extreme Rigour: In this Description we may be sure he spoke as a candid Relater, not as a bias'd Friend, and indeed the Danger of being partial was on the other hand; for he abhorred the Scandal of leaning to that *New Superstition*, and he wrote to one whom it was Manners to sooth, which yet he could not better do than by confirming that Prejudice he had so devoutly entertained. But maugre these Inducements, it was his

his Honour to speak the Truth, and it was his Master's Virtue to hear it. He therefore declares, *That their only Crime, or rather Mistake was, that they assembled before Day to sing a Form of Devotions to Christ their God, where they bound themselves by Sacrament not to violate the Roman Laws, not to perpetrate any Villanies, but to avoid Theft, Robbery, Adulteries, and Breach of Faith. When they had done this, they never spent their Thoughts to conspire and cabal, but marched quietly off to their respective Homes.* And this so much calmed the exasperated Trajan, that he remitted his Passion, and returned Answer, that *they should not be held in nor inquired after, but by others prosecuted, should have Justice and a fair Trial.* Yet was this a Concession he would never have made, had he not been fully convinced that they were neither seditious nor disloyal, as he at first surmised. For indeed, there was no one Emperor more provident in crushing the Growth of Faction, as will appear by this single Instance. Pliny had petitioned him that there might be a Corporation of Mechanics founded by Charter at *Nicomedia*; but the prudent Prince, though it seemed but a trivial Request, and asked by such a Favourite, whom he was not wont to deny, yet he gives him this one Repulse, and assigned no other Reason, than that such Societies were always prone to Faction, and were the common Nurseries of riotous and discontented Spirits.

WHEN he had discharged his Government with no Unhappiness, but that of Envy, he comes back to *Rome*, and is comforted with an humble Address from his Dependants, an hearty Welcome from his Friends, and a gracious Reception from his Prince. But precedent to this honourable



able Employ abroad, had been his Consulship at home, an Office which his exact Art of Conduct had proclaimed him worthy of; so that with no Pause from his Prefectship of the Treasury, to this the Emperor recommends and the People in Duty accept him. And to sweeten the Enjoyments of it he was blest with a Colleague, who was Partner of his Thoughts, as well as his Dignity, the good *Tertullus*. It was in these Circumstances, that he delivered his *Panegyric* in a full Senate, with a reverend Aspect, and deliberate Voice, it costing him three Days to rehearse.

It was not from this Instance only, but from a long Series of Loyalty, that he was so in favour with his Prince, as upon an humble Motion to procure any reasonable Act of Grace; yet he made use of this Power not to advantage himself, but to prefer his Friend. And the Emperor, as found a Politician as any that flourishing State was ever crowned with, thought it no Reflection on his Manage, to have a potent Favourite, and therefore let him command what Courtesies he pleased to intreat. His Opportunities to serve his Dependants were by this means frequent, and the Grants considerable. He got for his Physician *Harpocrates*, for *Crysippus*, and other Aliens, a Freedom of *Rome*: He obtained for the Children of *Antonia*, and other hopeful Persons, the Name and Privilege of Gentlemen. He advanced *Sura* to the Prætorship, and his Chamber-Fellow, *Vocinnius*, to several successive Dignities.

NOR was it only at the Emperor's Cost that he maintained his Friends, but where they were indigent and ready to accept, he would as freely spend from his own Stock, wherein his Bounty

ty was always unconditionate; he never (says Dr. Kennet, from whom this Life is chiefly taken) hooked by Civilities, nor tampered with his Favours, yet were his Largeſſes precious and munificent. He ſettled on his decayed Townſman *Caninius Rufus* a handsome Salary for Encouragement and Support in a ſtudious Life. He allowed *Martial* a comfortable Penſion to board him in a Country Retirement. *Metilius Criſpus* he ſent to a good Military Employ abroad, and gave him a round Sum at Departure to bear his Charges. To *Voconius Romanus* he gave three thouſand Seſterces to make him up a Gentleman's Eſtate, and to his Maſter *Quintilian*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ſent fifty thouſand Seſterces, as a Portion for the decent Bride.

AND thoſe he embraced for Friends were not his Neighbours and Relations only, but all the moſt eminent of each Faculty and Science. Of Poets he had *Martial* and *Silius Italicus*, the firſt a Prince in *Epigram*, the ſecond a Peer in *Heroic*. Of Hiſtorians he had both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*; he took the former for a Conſident, and admitted the latter for a Companion. Of Civilians he picked out *Pomponius Saturninus*, *Arrianus*, and what others were the moſt celebrated Oracles of the Law. To theſe he opened his Soul, and was as privy to all their Concerns. He loved their Perſons, courted their Society, and eſpouſed their Intereſt, without any dirty Reſerves of Craft or Deſign.

His Eſtate was ſo conſpicuous, and his Conditions ſo endearing, that he was ſure to be courted from the Selfiſhneſs of a ſingle Life, an Alteration of which was poſſibly more a Compliance  
with

with the Importunity of others, than any Hurry of his own Inclinations ; however, he had Choice of Proffers, and Judgment to select the best. Of his first Wife we have but an obscure mention ; his second was *Calphurnia*, whom Dowry and Parentage rendered an equal Match : Her he admitted to his Heart as well as Bed, and for an Instance of his Fondness, has left us a Pair of uxorious, yet chaste Epistles. It was the only Misfortune he ever complained of, that he could have no Issue by either of them.

THIS Unhappiness he contrived by the most availing Method to repair ; for indeed (as far as this Side of Vanity would allow) he seemed in nothing to betray a stronger Impetus of Desire, than to have his Name and Memory outlive his Funeral ; and therefore he got not only a grateful Celebration from *Martial*, and by a Hint of his own, an honourable Mention from *Tacitus*, but tempted Eternity with many of his own Works, which deserved a longer Duration than most of them have met with. Beside his *Greek* Tragedy and Elegies, in his Voyage from *Syria*, he wrote a Tract of Hendecasyllables ; another of Demonstrative Orations ; some Reflections on the Self-Murder of *Helvidius* : A Collection of Epistles, and a Panegyric upon the Emperor, of which the two last only are rescued from that eating Oblivion, which has swallowed the other.

WHEN he was cloyed with the Flatteries of the Town, he would oft retire to his Country Seats, of which he had two most delicately situate, the one his *Laurentine*, the other his *Tuscan* Farm ; where, in Imitation of the Primitive Consuls and Dictators, he read Nature in the Cultivations of Husbandry,

Husbandry, and thought his Gentility so little soiled thereby, that he gave a Waggon for his Coat of Arms.

WE have better Proof how he lived than when he died; we have a moral Certainty for the one, but must be content with Conjecture for the other. His last Epistles seem to be those from *Pontus* to the Emperor, and after his giving up this honourable Trust, we hear nothing considerable of his Actions from himself, or any other Historian. It is recorded, that his Royal Patron resigned to Death about the Year from our Saviour's Birth (if *Eusebius* compute right) 119; whom it is likely he had no great Ambition to survive; and therefore we may presume he left the World soon after the Loss of that Comfort which had been most effectual to have detained him in it. Yet some (I fancy on more presumptuous Grounds) date his Death in the twelfth of *Trajan's* Reign: It is sure, that *Eusebius* then mentions the Decease of a *Pliny*, but implies it of the Senior.

THIS Writer (says Mr. *Kennet*) gained not only a fluent Style, and a plausible Delivery, which are but the Mechanism of Oratory, but he had such an accurate Idea of Things, knew so well their apt Representment by Words, and understood so compleatly the Influence of each Period on the Soul, that he still married his Expressions to his Argument, always reconciled his Auditory to his Subject, and never spoke but to those Passions he raised. He could instruct a Friend, that an Invention copious, and a free Elocution, might haply be the Talents of an illiterate Confidence; but an orderly Disposure, a due Turn of Figures, a critical Mode of Transition, and such other  
Secrets



## 258 *Lives of the ROMAN Historians.*

Secrets of Art were only Acquirements of the laborious and learned. Yet it was one of his Maxims, That Use was the best Rhetorician ; he having known many who had neither Parts nor Reading, yet by assiduous Practice had talked often till they spoke well.

HE was such an Artist at the Variance of Expressions, that almost in the same Breath he could be fuller, and more acute, grave and flourishing, so that his Cadencies made a Dissonance of Music, being always unequal. His Endeavours herein, by Confession to a Friend, were, that he might so contrive it, that by a different turning of Periods, he would have somewhat to affect the most singular Relish of each peculiar Palate, yet where his Subject required a steady even Pace, he would never range, but keep devoutly to each Scheme of Languages, which is only proper to each distinct Composition. Undoubtedly he was an accurate Master of all Styles, and seemed most happy in the most difficult, that of the Sublime ; for the Exercise of which, he had that Argument which the great *Longinus* implied to be the most suitable, that of Panegyric. Wherein he completely shunned those Vices which so nearly adjoin Affectation and Flatness. He could fly without soaring, and again walk without creeping ; he could reach where it was proper, and stoop where it was more becoming.

MR. *Toland* thus delivers the Character of *Pliny* : That for what we call a happy Turn, Delicacy of Expression, and speaking only to the Business in hand, no Modern comes near to him ; no more than in the Variety of his Subjects, such

as

as Intrigues of State, Points of Literature, and History, Questions in Natural Philosophy, rural Pleasures, the Concerns of his Friends, and some Trifles which he renders important.

THE Character of this Classic is touched with greater Delicacy and Exactness by Mr. *Blackwell*. *Pliny* the younger is one of the finest Wits that *Italy* has produced; he is correct and elegant, has a florid and gay Fancy, tempered with Maturity and Soundness of Judgment. Every thing in him is exquisitely studied, and yet in general speaking every thing is natural and easy. In his incomparable Oration in honour of *Trajan*, he has frequent and surprising Turns of true Wit, without playing and tinkling upon Sounds: He has exhausted the Subject of Panegyric, using every Topic and every Delicacy of Praise.

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## M. JUNIANUS JUSTINUS.

**T**HIS Writer is supposed to have lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and has made himself famous by abridging the History written by *Trogus Pompeius* : His History began at *Ninus*, Founder of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, and came down to the Time of *Augustus* ; but this Work, to the great Misfortune of the learned World, is lost, and its Loss is attributed to the Abridgment, which being written in a polite and elegant Style, was very probably the Reason why that Age neglected the Original, and using this only, their Successors totally slighted that. Nor is there any one, says *Vossius*, among the *Latins*, who has more politely and elegantly contracted the History of so many Empires ; for he comprehends the Actions almost of all Nations, from *Ninus* to *Augustus*.

It is easy to make a near guess at the Time when *Trogus Pompeius* lived, by what he said in his forty-third Book, of his Parents that came from *Gallia Narbonensis* ; where he declares his Grandfather to be made a Citizen of *Rome* by the Favour of *Pompey the Great* (whose Surname probably he took) during the Wars of *Sertorius* ; and that his Father, after he had bore Arms  
under

under *Caius Cæsar* (who is here taken for the first Emperor that bore that Name rather than for *Caligula*) had the Honour to be his Secretary, and jointly to keep his Seal. It is therefore thought that *Trogus Pompeius* wrote his History under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, having spoken of the former at the End of the whole Work. It was divided into forty-four Books, whose Number *Justin* has not changed no more than their Title, which was the *Philippic* History, because (as it appears from the seventh unto the one and fortieth Book) it was a continued Narration of the *Macedonian* Empire, which owed its rise to *Philip* the Father to *Alexander* the Great. *Theopompus* had written before fifty eight Books called *Philippics*, which are quoted by *Athenæus* and *Diodorus*, and by some held to be the Model which *Trogus Pompeius* followed, as *Cicero* imitating *Demosthenes*, named his Orations *Philippics* with much less Reason.

It is the received Opinion, that *Justin* made his Epitome (as was before said) under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, to whom it is supposed he dedicated it in his Preface, *Quod ad te, Imperator Antonine, non tam cognoscendi quam emendandi causâ transmissi*. I know the Passage wherein that Emperor is mentioned, is diversly interpreted, and some have been persuaded that he wrote after the Establishment of the *Roman* Empire in *Constantinople*, because of a Passage in the Eighth Book, where he speaks of the Sovereign Power of *Greece*. *Græciam etiam nunc, & viribus & dignitate, orbis terrarum Principem*. But that Expression may admit other Interpretations, without a Necessity of making him live two hundred



dred Years later than he did, and in an Age which produced nothing so polite and elegant as all we have of this Author is. It is ridiculous to confound this Writer with *Justin* the Martyr, as one *Martin a Polander* does in his Chronicle ; for the manner in which the Historian treats the *Israelites* in his six and thirtieth Book, shews him to be of *Pagan* Belief. This Epitomizer of *Trogus* is censured by some, for introducing a few Digressions in a Work so close and short as the History he writes. The first is found in the Beginning of his second Book, where the *Scythians* and *Egyptians* have a Debate on a Point of Honour, in what relates to their Antiquity, both of them pretending to have sufficient Reasons to call themselves the most ancient People of the Earth: The second is in the twentieth Book, on the Subject of *Pythagoras*, whose Birth, Voyages, Learning, Virtues and Death he describes, without forgetting the Misfortune which happened to his Disciples, three-score of whom were burnt in *Croton*, and the rest exiled. Whence one may conclude, says *La Mothe*, that all sorts of Digressions are not to be condemned, when so eminent an Author as *Justin*, who contracted in so little a Space, the History of the Transactions of two thousand Years, (which are reckoned from *Ninus*, the Founder of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, to the Emperor *Augustus*) made no Difficulty sometimes to divert himself this Way upon an agreeable Subject.

BUT though *Justin's* Manner of Writing is so excellent, that it was thought worthy of *Augustus* his Age, rather than that of the *Antonines*, his Elegancy of Style cannot atone for his Mistakes

stakes in relation. *Pererius* has convinced him of many Errors in reference to the *Jews*, in his Commentaries upon *Daniel*; and *Vopiscus* places him in the Rank of Historians, who could not avoid Lying. That which he cannot be excused in is Chronology, where he was so much mistaken, that he is not always to be depended on. And that which makes his Fault the greater, is, that the Reputation of *Trogus Pompeius*, and the Esteem which all the Ancients had for him, oblige Men to think that those Miscomputations in the Sequel of Times, are rather of the Copy than the Original, or of the Abbreviator rather than the primitive Author; which is the ordinary Judgment of those, who have laboured most in the best Editions of *Justin*.

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A N

## I N D E X

T O T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

A.

**A**CHILLEID, a Poem by *Statius*, Pag. 297  
*Ælius Verus*, his Respect for *Ovid's* Art of  
 Love, 259.

*Æneid*, an Account of that Work, 196. A perfect Poem, 200.

*Æschylus*, where born, his Parents, 73. Accused of Blasphemy, 74. Had his Life saved by his younger Brother, *ibid.* Retires to *Sicily*, *ibid.* His Death, Funeral, and Epitaph, 75. His Works, *ibid.* He reforms the Stage, 76. His Tragedies enrolled with the *Athenian* Laws, *ibid.*

*Æsculapius*, sojourn'd with *Sophocles*, 81.

*Æsop*, turned into Iambic Verse by *Phædrus*, 234.

*Æthra*, 2.

*Agathon*, beloved by *Euripides*, 91.

*Agave*, a Play written by *Statius*, 293.

*Alcæus*, his Discourse with *Sappho*, 41. His Birth, 49. A Defender of Public Liberty, 50. Taken Prisoner by *Pittacus*, 50. An Instance of his Cowardice, 51. The Character of his Writings,

VOL. II.

N



- tings, 53, 54, &c. Another of the Name, 54.  
 His extraordinary Death, 55.  
*Alcestis*, a Poet, his Discourse with *Euripides*, 95.  
*Alcibiades*, a Story of him, 14.  
*Alexander the Great*, his Regard for *Homer*, 15.  
 His Opinion of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, 33. Saves  
 the House of *Pindar* at *Thebes*, 66.  
*Alexander Severus*, his Honour for *Virgil*, 203.  
*Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, his Respect for *Ovid*, 260.  
*Aminias* the Brother of *Æschylus*, 73.  
*Amphidamas* institutes Funeral Games, 32.  
*Anacreon*, said to be in love with *Sappho*, 41.  
 His Birth and Parents, 56, 57. His Character,  
 57. Is censured by *Ovid*, 58. In love with Boys,  
 58, 59. Despised Money, 59. Called the Wife,  
*ibid.* Is choak'd by a Grape-stone, 63.  
*Anaxagoras*, instructs *Euripides*, 93.  
*Antigonus Gonatus*, his Character, 142.  
*Anytus* conspires against the Life of *Socrates*, 109.  
*Apollinaris*, an Epigram of his, 198.  
*Apollo*, answers in Iambic Verse, 85. Consulted  
 upon the Fate of *Euripides*, 88.  
*Apollonius Rhodius*, Scholar to *Callimachus*, 132.  
 A Native of *Alexandria*, *ibid.* Librarian to  
*Ptolemy Evergetes*, 138.  
*Aratus*, finish'd a Copy of the *Odyssee*, 16. His  
 Birth, his Parents and Profession, 141, 142. He  
 writes upon Astrology, 142. Familiar with  
*Theocritus*, 143. His Character, *ibid.*  
*Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, entertains *Euri-*  
*pides*, 91.  
*Arellius Fuscus*, Master to *Ovid*, 246.  
*Argonautica*, a Poem by *Apollonius*, 137.  
*Argonauts*, their Voyage describ'd by *Lycophron*,  
 128. Their History, 138.

*Aristarchus*,

- Aristarchus*, publishes *Homer's Works*, 15.  
*Aristophanes*, his Father an *Athenian*, 108. An  
 Enemy to Tyranny, 108. An Account of  
 his Enmity to *Socrates*, 109. A Writer of the  
 old Comedy, 110. His Works, his Death and  
 Epitaph by *Plato*, 111. His Character, 112.  
 Is blamed by *Cicero*, 113. Condemn'd by *Plu-*  
*tarch*, 114. Compared with *Menander*, 115.  
 A Character of his Comedies, *ibid.* His  
 Style, 118. His Character by Mr. *Rimer*, 119.  
 He is a Champion for Public Liberty, *ibid.*  
 Compared with *Terence*, 159.  
*Art of Poetry* by *Horace*, 212.  
*Athens*, *Homer's Works* publish'd there, 14.  
*Augustus*, Patron to *Virgil*, 192. Preserves his  
 Works, 197. Patron to *Phædrus*, 233.  
*Aurelius*, his Character by *Catullus*, 183.  
*Ausonius*, Birth and Education, 318. Raised to  
 the Consulship, 320. He was a Christian, 322.  
 His Works and the Character of them, 323.

B.

- Bacon*, Lord, his Character of *Pindar*, 69.  
*Baillet*, his Character of *Ausonius*, 324.  
*Barbiton*, invented by *Alcæus*, 49.  
*Barthius*, his Character of *Propertius*, 231. Of  
*Lucan*, 277. Of *Valerius Flaccus*, 317.  
*Bathyllus*, beloved by *Anacreon*, 58.  
*Battus*, Founder of *Cyrene*, 131.  
*Bayle*, his Remark upon *Sappho* and *Anacreon*, 60.  
 Upon *Lucretius*, 174. His Apology for *Catullus*,  
 188.  
*Berenice*, her Hair made a Constellation, 133.  
*Bilbilis*, *Martial* born there, 308.  
*Blondel*, his Character of *Horace*, 211.

- Boileau's* Character of *Homer*, 20. Of *Sophocles*, 84.  
 Of *Terence*, 162.  
*Borrichius*, his Character of *Hesiod*, 39. Of *Euripides*, 97. Of *Oppian*, 147. Of *Ovid's* Metamorphosis, 259. Of *Seneca*, 268. Of *Statius*, 297. Of *Valerius Flaccus*, 317.  
*Briet*, his Character of *Lucretius*, 172. Of *Ausonius*, 324.  
*Brown*, his Character of *Oppian*, 148.  
*Bucolick* Verse, invented by *Theocritus*, 124.  
*Burnet*, Dr. his Character of *Lucretius*, 181.

## C.

- Cæcilius*, a comick Poet, his Character, 157.  
*Cæsar*, *Julius*, his Character, 163.  
*Caligula*, an Enemy to *Virgil*, 202, 203.  
*Callimachus*, born in *Cyrene*, 131. Entertained by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 132. Writes his Father's Epitaph, 131. Composes an Elegy upon *Berenice's* Hair, 133. Objections to his Writings, 135, 136, 137.  
*Casaubon*, his Apology for *Persius*, 284.  
*Cassandra*, her History, 128.  
*Cato*, his Behaviour at the Floral Games, 312.  
*Catullus*, translates a Poem of *Callimachus*, 133. His Works, 134. His Descent and Education, 182. His Amours, 183. His Death, 184. Lampoons *Julius Cæsar*, 185. An Account of his Works, 186. Compared with *Martial*, 187. Is censured for Lewdness, 188. Is called *the Learned*, 189.  
*Cento Nuptialis*, an Account of it, 324.  
*Cercolus*, Husband to *Sappho*, 43.  
*Chærina*, Wife of *Euripides*, 90.

- Chrysoftome*, an Admirer of *Aristophanes*, 118.  
*Cicero*, his Esteem for *Euripides*, 96. Corrects the Works of *Lucretius*, 172. His Opinion of *Virgil*, 192. His Respect for *Tibullus*, 216.  
*Cimon*, brings the Bones of *Theseus* to *Athens*, 80.  
*Giosanius*, his Account of *Ovid*, 252. His Character of *Ovid*, 256.  
*Claudia*, the Wife of *Statius*, her Character, 294, 295.  
*Claudian*, his Birth and Education, 328. His Works, and their Character, 333, &c.  
*Cleobulus*, beloved by *Anacreon*, 59.  
*Cleon*, fined, 113.  
*Clito*, the Mother of *Euripides*, 88.  
*Clouds*, the Comedy of the Clouds by *Aristophanes*, 110.  
*Comedy*, an Account of the Old Comedy, 111. The Progress of its Improvement, 114.  
*Conon of Samos*, 133.  
*Corinna*, obtain'd a Prize from *Pindar*, 64, 66.  
*Corinna*, Mistress to *Ovid*, 248.  
*Cornutus*, Tutor to *Lucan*, 272. And to *Perfius*, 281.  
*Cowley*, his Character of *Anacreon*, 63. Inspired with *Pindar's* Muse, 71.  
*Cratinus*, his Character, 111.  
*Crinitus*, his Character of *Catullus*, 188.  
*Critheis*, 5.  
*Crucius*, his Character of *Plautus*, 151.  
*Cyrus*, a Rival to *Horace*, 220.

D.

- Damasagoras*, 2.  
*Decamnichus*, whipped by *Euripides*, 91.  
*Delia*, Mistress to *Tibullus*, 216.



- Demetrius*, a Cynic Philosopher, 262.  
*Diogenes*, his Account of *Epicurus*, 179.  
*Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, his Character of *Homer*, 19. Of *Simonides*, 107.  
*Dithyrambicks*, used by *Pindar*, 69.  
*Diverbium*, introduced in Tragedy, 84.  
*Domitius Marsus*, his Epitaph upon *Tibullus*, 224.  
*Donatus*, his Character of *Virgil*, 192.  
*Doves*, bring *Ambrosia* to *Jupiter*, 2.  
*Dryden*, his Character of *Æschylus*, 78. Of *Sophocles*, 87. Of *Theocritus*, 124. Of *Hærace*, 213. Of *Lucian*, 278.

## E.

- Eclogue*, a Description of that Poem, 122.  
*Eide*, *Pindar's* Verses so called, 67.  
*Elegy*, the Nature of it, 225.  
*Epicharmus*, an Account of him, 153.  
*Epigram*, a Definition of it, 187.  
*Epimenides*, a Tragedy of *Æschylus*, 76.  
*Epistles* of *Ovid*, politely written, 258.  
*Erasmus*, his Character of *Terence*, 161.  
*Evelin*, his Character of *Lucretius*, 174.  
*Eupolis*, his Death, 113.  
*Evremond's* Censure of *Terence*, 165. Of *Seneca*, 269.  
*Euripides*, an *Athenian*, his Parents, 88. Brought up in Exercises of Activity, 89. Is called the Dramatic Philosopher, 90. Obtained the Name of the Woman-Hater, *ib.* A Lover of the Poet *Agathon*, 91. Is torn to pieces by Dogs, 92. Honour'd after Death, 93. A *Cenotaphium* erected to him, *ibid.* Is accused of Perjury and Blasphemy, 94. An Account of

of his Works, 95, &c. The Original of his Works preserved in *Alexandria*, 96. Compared with *Sophocles*, 97. Is censured by the Critics, 98.

*Eutychus*, a Friend to *Phædrus*, 234.

## F.

*Fæsti* of *Ovid*, an elegant Poem, 258.

*Feltôn*, Dr. his Remarks upon *Pindar*, 70.

*Fevre*, M. le, his Character of *Pindar*, 69. Of *Callimachus*, 135. Of *Apollonius*, 140. Of *Oppian*, 147.

*Fevre*, Mrs. le, her Character of *Anacreon*, 62. Of *Aristophanes*, 117. Of *Callimachus*, 134.

*Flavius Virginius*, Tutor to *Lucan*, 272.

*Fleecé*, the Expedition of the Golden Fleece written by *Apollonius*, 137. The Fable of the Golden Fleece explain'd, 138.

*Fulvia Sifenna*, Mother to *Persius*. 280.

*Furius*, a Friend to *Terence*, 156.

## G.

*Gale*, his Account of *Homer*, 21.

*Gallus*, a Writer of Elegies, 195.

*Games*, the Grecian, immortalized by *Pindar*, 64.

*Georgicks* of *Virgil*, an Account of them, 195.

*Gifanius*, his Character of *Lucretius*, 177.

*Giselinus*, his Opinion of *Ausonius* and *Claudian*, 322.

*Grotius*, his Character of *Homer*, 18.

*Gyraldus*, his Character of *Aristophanes*, 118. Of *Apollonius*, 140. Of *Lucan*, 278. Of *Martial*, 313.

## H.

## H.

- Hadrian*, an Enemy to *Claudian*, 329.  
*Halieutica*, a Poem written by *Oppian*, 146.  
*Hare's* Character of *Terence*, 162.  
*Harpagus*, General to *Cyrus*, 57.  
*Harvey*, Dr. his Saying of *Virgil*, 202.  
*Heinsius*, his Character of *Hesiod*, 39. Of *Callimachus*, 135. Of *Terence*, 161.  
*Heliodorus*, 2.  
*Hercules*, the Manner of his Death, 130.  
*Hesiod*. an Account of his Death, 29. The Names of his Parents, 30. His Kindness to his Brother, 32. His Contention with *Homer*, 33. His Children, 34. The Manner of his Death, his Tomb and Epitaph, 35. Monuments in honour of him, 36. An Account of his Works, 36, 37. The Character of his Writings, 38, &c.  
*Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, 66. His Character, 121. Demands of *Simonides* what God is, 103.  
*Hipparchus*, a Friend to *Anacreon*, 60.  
*Homer*, 1. His Birth, 2, &c. Parents, 2. Poetical Genealogy, 3. Reason of his Name. *ibid.* His Blindness, 4. Sets up a School of Poetry, 9. His Death, *ibid.* Is taken for a Madman, *ibid.* Disputes about the Place of his Birth, 10. About his Parents, *ibid.* About his Name, 11. Why call'd *Mæonides*, 10. An Account of his Works 12. His Rhapsodies, why so call'd, 13. The first Edition of his Works, 14. His Works digested, *ibid.* Translated,

flated, 16. His Character, 16, &c. The Veneration paid him by the Ancients, 23. His Poems said to be written without Design, 25. Call'd a Plagiary, *ibid.* His Works banish'd from *Plato's Commonwealth*, 27.

*Homerium*, 10.

*Horace*, born at *Venusium*, 204. His Respect for his Father, 205. Flies shamefully at *Philippi*, *ibid.* Is introduced to *Virgil*, *Mecænas*, and *Augustus*, 206. His Death, 207. His Temper and Person describ'd, 208. His Works, 208. His Style and Character of his Writings, 209. 210. Could have compos'd an Epic Poem, 212. His Compliment to *Tibullus*, 222.

*Hostia*, Mistress to *Propertius*, 282.

# I.

*Ibis*, the Name of a Bird, 132. And of a Poem written by *Ovid*, 255.

*Idylliums* of *Theocritus*, an Account of them, 122, 123.

*Ispithilla*, Mistress to *Catullus*, 183.

*Julia*, celebrated by *Ovid* under the Name of *Corinna*, 253.

*Juvenal*, born at *Aquinum*, 299. Writes his Satires, 300. Is sent to *Egypt*, *ibid.* Returns to *Rome*, 300. His Character, 301. His Works, *ibid.* Compared with *Horace*, 303, & seq.



## L.

- Lælius*, a Friend to *Terence*, 156. Assisted him in the Comedy of the Self-Tormentor, 161.
- Lambinus*, his Character of *Lucretius*, 175.
- Lesbia*, Mistress to *Catullus*, 183. The Sister of *Clodius*, 184.
- Leucate*, 44.
- Lipsius*, his Character of *Plautus*, 151. Of *Tibullus*, 226. Of *Propertius*, 231. Of *Seneca*, 261.
- Livius Andronicus*, the first Latin Comedian, his Character, 149.
- Longinus*, his Character of *Pindar*, 68. Of *Æschylus*, 76. Of *Apollonius*, 140.
- Lover's Leap*, 45.
- Lucan*, his Family, his Birth, 271. His Education and Improvement, 272. His Hatred to *Nero*, 273. His Death, 275. An Account of his Works, 276. The Character of them, *ibid*.
- Lucilius*, a Poet, an Account of him, 213.
- Lucretius*, his Family, and Reason of his Name, 167. Studies the *Epicurean* Philosophy, 168. His intimate Friends, 168. His Death, and the Manner of it, 169, 170. His Address to *Venus*, 170. His Works, 171, 172. Writ his Poem in his Distraction, 173. His Character, 174, &c. Compared with *Ennius* and *Virgil*, 178. His Poem is condemned, 180.
- Lycophron*, his Birth, Family and Death, 126, 127. His Works, 127. The Foundation of his Poem explained, 128. Is called the Muddy and Mysterious, 129. His Character, 129.
- Lycurgus*, brought *Homer's* Works into *Greece*, 13.
- Lycus*

*Lycus*, beloved by *Alcæus*, 52. Described by *Cicero*, 53.

*Lyriques*, *Pindar* the Father of that Verse, 68.

*Lyfander*, permits the Burial of *Sophocles*, 83.

M.

*Macrobius*, his Account of *Lucretius*, 175.

*Maia*, the Name of *Virgil's* Mother, 190.

*Mamurra*, his Character, 185.

*Manilius*, his Character of *Theocritus*, 123. In what Age he lived, 237. His Name, 237. Flourish'd under *Augustus*, 237. His Family, 238. His Works, 246. Their Character, 238. Is addicted to the *Stoics*, 242. His Knowledge in Astrology, 244.

*Maratus*, beloved by *Tibullus*, 219.

*Marcella*, the Wife of *Martial*, 309.

*Maresius*, his Character of *Propertius*, 231.

*Martial*, his Character of *Virgil*, 202. Of *Propertius*, 228. His Birth, intended for the Bar, 308. His Works, 309. His Character, 313.

*Mecænas*, a Patron to *Virgil*, 194.

*Medea*, a Tragedy of *Euripidès*, 96.

*Melesigenes*, a Name of *Homer*, 6.

*Memmius*, convicted of Bribery, 169. An Account of him, 173.

*Menalippus*, 4. The Name of a Tragedy, 94.

*Menander*, a Writer of the new Comedy, 110. His Character, 114. His Style and Writings, 158.

*Mentes*, 6.

*Messala Corvinus*, a Patron to *Tibullus*, 216.

*Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*, said to be copied from *Parthenius*, 259.

*Mim-*

- Mimnermus*, an Account of him, 228. Is quoted by *Horace*, 229.  
*Mirhosi*, his Character of *Martial*, 313.  
*Mullet*, the Punishment of the *Mullet*, 56.

## N.

- Naples*, *Virgil* studies there, 191.  
*Natalis*, betrays, *Seneca*, 265.  
*Naugerius*, his Aversion to *Martial*, 188. And to *Statius*, 296.  
*Neæra*, Mistress to *Tibullus*, 217.  
*Nemesis*, Mistress to *Tibullus*, 217.  
*Nero*, his Usage of *Seneca*, 270. His Fondness for Poetry, 273.

## O.

- Octavia* falls into a Swoon at the Hearing of some Verses of *Virgil*, 196.  
*Ode*, the Character of it, 208. Odes of Victory, 64.  
*Odyssée* of *Homer*, 7. Where composed, 9.  
*Oedipus Coloneus*, a Tragedy by *Sophocles*, 82.  
*Oldham*, his Judgment of *Sappho*, 48.  
*Oppian*, an Account of his Family, and the Place of his Birth, 145. Applies himself to Poetry, 146. His Works, *ibid.* The Manner of his Death, *ibid.* Honours paid to him, *ibid.* Character, 147. Copied from the Book of *Job*, 148.  
*Ovid*, his Character of *Alcæus*, 54. Of *Callimachus*, 135. Of *Lucretius*, 171. His Elegy upon *Tibullus*, 225. His Family, and Beginning

ning of his Studies, 246. His Acquaintance with Men of Learning, 247. Addicted to *Venus*, 243. Finishes his Heroic Epistles and *Fasti*, 249. He throws his *Metamorphosis* into the Fire, 250. Is banish'd, 251. The Reasons of his Banishment examin'd, 251. Applies in vain to be recalled, 253. Desires his Ashes might be carried to *Rome*, 254. His Works and their Character, 256, &c. Compared with *Tibullus* and *Propertius*, 257. His Pen discover'd, 260.

P.

*Pan*, danced at *Pindar's* Birth, 64.

*Paris*, a Pantomime Player, 300.

*Particulo*, a Friend to *Phædrus*, 234.

*Paterculus*, his Character of *Hesiod*, 39. Of *Terence*, 157.

*Paul*, St. cites an Expression from *Aratus*, 144.

*Paulina*, Wife to *Seneca*, 264. Resolves to die with her Husband, 266. Is prevented by *Nero*, 267.

*Pausanias*, celebrated by *Simonides*, 101.

*Pericles*, rebukes *Sophocles* for his Love of Boys, 82.

*Perilla*, Wife to *Ovid*, 247.

*Perrault*, his Opinion of *Homer*, 24.

*Persius*, born at *Volterra*, 280. Professes the Stoic Philosophy, 281. His Friends, and the Manner of his Death, 282. His Works, 282. Compared with *Juvenal* and *Horace*, 283. The Reason of his Obscurity, 284. Called the Blind and Dark Poet, 285.

*Phædrus*, his Account of *Simonides*, 105. A Thracian taken Captive by *Octavius*, 233.



- Tinctured with Vanity, 234. His Character, 234.
- Phænomena*, a Poem by *Aratus*, 143.
- Phaon*, beloved by *Sappho*. 43. An Account of him, 43.
- Philemon*, his Saying concerning *Euripides*, 93.
- Philetas*, an Account of him, 230.
- Pindar*, his Birth and Parents, 64. Fed by a Swarm of Bees, 65. His Guide in Poetry, 65. Honours paid to him, 65. His Death, 66. An Account of his Works, 67. Titles given him by the Ancients, 69. The Character of his Writings, 70.
- Pisistratus*, collected *Homer's* Works, 14.
- Piso*, an Account of his Conspiracy, 268.
- Pithæus*, the first Publisher of *Phædrus*, 234.
- Plato*, recommends *Aristophanes*, 113.
- Plautus*, his Birth and Parentage, and Reason of his Name, 149. Reduced to grind at a Mill, 150. The Number of his Comedies, 150. His Death and Epitaph, 151. Compared with *Terence*, 152. Condemn'd by *Horace*, 152.
- Pliny*, his Letter concerning *Silius Italicus*, 290. Concerning *Martial*, 310.
- Plutarch*, condemns *Aristophanes*, 114.
- Poetry*, a particular Account of it, 149.
- Poggius*, the first Publisher of *Manilius*, 236.
- Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, 58. A Friend to *Anacreon*, 60.
- Portius Latro*, Master to *Ovid*, 246.
- Priscus*, a Friend to *Martial*, 309.
- Propertius*, his Opinion of *Callimachus*, 134. His Family and Acquaintance, 227. His Death and Works, 228. Compared with *Tibul-*

*Tibullus* and *Ovid*, 230. His Character, 231, 232.

*Ptolemy Philadelphus*, preserves the Originals of the old Tragedians, 96.

*Pytheus*, a triumphal Poem made upon him by *Pindar*, 67.

## Q.

*Quintilian*, his Character of *Pindar*, 68. Of *Euripides*, 97. Of *Simonides*, 107. Of *Theocritus*, 122. Of *Apollonius*, 140. Of *Aratus*, 144. Of *Terence*, 162. Of *Lucretius*, 175. Of *Tibullus*, 226. Of *Lucan*, 277. Of *Valerius Flaccus*, 315.

## R.

*Radish*, The Punishment of the Radish, 55.

*Rapin*, his Character of *Anacreon*, 62. Of *Pindar*, 69. Of *Æschylus*, 77. Of *Sophocles*, 86. Of *Aristophanes*, 116. Of *Apollonius*, 140. Of *Oppian*, 147. Of *Terence*, 163. Of *Horace* 208. Of *Tibullus*, 225. Of *Ovid's* Epistles, 258. Of *Seneca*, 269. Of *Silius Italicus*, 292. Of *Statius*, 298. Of *Juvenal*, 306.

*Rhodope*, an Account of her, 42.

*Rimer*, his Character of *Aristophanes*, 119.

*Rufinus*, an Account of him, 331.

## S.

*Salmasius*, his Character of *Æschylus*, 77.

*Sappho*, her Birth, Parents, and Acquaintance, 41. Her Brothers, 42. Her Marriage and

- Female Favourites, 43. In Love with *Phaon*, 43. Her Death, 45. An Account of her Works, 46. Their Character, 47. Two of the Name, 48.
- Scaliger*, his Judgment of *Homer*, 26. Of *Anacreon*, 62. Of *Aristophanes*, 118. Of *Callimachus*, 134. Of *Oppian*, 147. Of *Plautus*, 153. Of *Terence*, 161. Of *Catullus*, 189. Of *Virgil*, 199. Of *Horace*, 209. Of *Tibullus*, 226. Of *Ovid*, 256. Of *Seneca*, 261, 268. Of *Lucan*, 277. Of *Persius*, 285. Of *Satetius*, 297. Of *Martial*, 313. Of *Valerius Flaccus*, 316.
- Scipio Africanus*, a Friend to *Terence*, 156.
- Selden*, calls *Ovid* a great Canon Lawyer, 258.
- Seneca*, born at *Corduba*, 261. His Family and Relations, 262. Is accused of Adultery and banish'd, 263. Tutor to *Nero*, 263. His great Riches, 264. The Manner of his Death, *ibid.* He drinks Poison, 267.
- Sicilians*, their Respect for the Tragedies of *Euripides*, 98.
- Silius Italicus*, his Family and the Reason of his Name, 288. He is sent into *Asia*, 289. Is complimented by *Martial*, 289. Writes an Epic Poem, 291. His Works, and their Character, 292.
- Simonides*, preferred to *Eschylus*, 74. Born at *Ceos*, an Account of his Parents, 100. Won the Prize from *Æschylus*, 101. Preserv'd twice from Death, 101. The Inventor of local Memory, 102. Saved by a Dream, 102. His Advice to *Pausanias*, 103. Is exceeding covetous, 104. He let the Muses out to hire, 105. His two Trunks, 105. He is shipwreck'd, his Death,

- Death, Burial, and Tomb, 106. His Works, the Character of them, 107.
- Socrates*, an Admirer of *Euripides*, 89. Severely treated by *Aristophanes*, 109.
- Sophocles*, preferr'd to *Æschylus*, 74. His Birth, Parents, his Education, 78. Celebrates the Victory of *Salamis*, 79. Instructed by *Æschylus*, 79. Wins the Prize of Poetry from *Æschylus*, 80. *Hercules* appears to him in a Dream, 81. Inclines to the Love of Boys, 81. His Opinion of Women, 82. Accused by his Sons as a Madman, 82. His Death and Burial, 83. High Improvement of Tragedy, 83. His Works, 83. Distinguished by *Virgil*, 84. Emulation between him and *Euripides*, 85. Compared with *Euripides*, 86.
- Statius*, writes in Honour of *Lucan's* Birth-Day, 272. Born at *Naples*, 294. In favour with *Domitian*, 295. Sells a Play to *Paris* the Actor, 296. His Death and Character, 297, &c.
- Strabo*, his Character of *Homer*, 17.
- Strada*, his Opinion of *Lucan*, 278. Of *Statius*, 297.
- Style*, the Style of *Homer*, 21.
- Sulpicia*, complimented by *Tibullus*, 218.
- Sylvæ*, of *Statius*, their Character, 296.

T.

- Temple*, Sir *William*, his Account of *Homer*, 22. Of *Virgil*, 202.
- Terence*, compared particularly with *Plautus*, 153. An *African*, 155. His Person described, 156. And Qualities, 156. At what Time he wrote his Plays, 158. Borrows from *Menander*, 158.



- The Success of his Comedies, 159. He is said to be assisted by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, 159. His Death, 161. His Character, 161, 162. His Style, 163.
- Thebaid*, a Poem by *Statius*, 296.
- Theocritus*, born at *Syracuse*, 120. An Account of his *Idylliums*, 121. Put to a violent Death, 121. An Account and Character of his Writings, 121. Compared with *Virgil*, 123. His Dialect, 124. His Character by *Fontanelle*, 125.
- Theseus*, his Reliques brought to *Athens*, 79.
- Thespis*, 75. The first who taught Tragedy according to Art, 83.
- Tibullus*, his Descent and the Reason of his Name, 215. An Account of his Amours, 216. Addicted to criminal Love, 218. Attends *Messala* into *Syria*, 221. His Epitaph, 221. Follows *Messala* into *Aquitain*, 221. No Friend to Courts, 223. His Death, 224. His Works, 225.
- Timoleon*, his Epitaph, by *Simonides*, 107.
- Tomi*, the Place of *Ovid*'s Banishment, 251.
- Tragedy*, the Definition, Beginning, and Progress of it, 83.
- Turnebus*, his Character of *Propertius*, 231. Of *Martial*, 313.
- Tyndarides*, an Appearance of them, 101.
- Tytius*, beloved by *Tibullus*, 219. Familiar with *Horace*, 220.

## V.

- Valerius Flaccus*, his Life and Death, 315. An Account of his Poem, 315.
- Valgius*, a Poet, his Opinion of *Terence*, 160.
- Varro*,

*Varro*, his Character of *Plautus*, 150. Of *Terence*, 162.

*Vavassor*, his Character of *Persius*, 286.

*Virgil*, compared with *Homer*, 22. His Respect for *Hesiod*, 32. For *Theocritus*, 121. Copies from *Apollonius*, 140. An Account of his Birth and Descent, 190. Is sent to *Cremona*, 191. His Patrons, 192. Is in danger of his Life, 193. The Reason of his Name, 193. Is censured for the Love of Boys, 194. Writes his *Georgicks*, 195. Writes his *Æneid*, 196. His Death, 197. Orders his *Æneis* to be burnt, 197. An Account of his Person and Temper, 198. His Will, *ibid.* Not insensible of Love, 198. His Works and Character, 199, &c. Compared with *Homer*, 200. Honours paid him at *Rome*, 203.

*Umbricius*, a Friend to *Juvenal*, 299.

*Vossius*, his Remark upon *Pindar*, 65. Upon *Plautus*, 153. Upon *Horace*, 213. Upon *Seneca*, 261. Upon *Persius*, 286. Upon *Martial*, 313.

## X.

*Xenia*, not written by *Martial*, 310.

*Xenocles*, a wretched Poetafter, 95.

## Z.

*Zeno*, an Epicurean, 168.

*Zenodotus*, Publishes *Homer's* Works, 15.

*Zoilus*, 10. The Reason and Manner of his Death, 28.

*The End of the Index to VOL. I.*



A N  
I N D E X  
T O T H E  
S E C O N D V O L U M E.

A.

- A** *Drian*, addicted to Poetry, 23.  
*Æschines*, his Character of *Demosthenes*, 46.  
*Agathias*, his Epigram upon *Plutarch*, 108.  
*Agyrium*, *Diodorus* born there, 60.  
*Aldus Minutius*, his Character of *Paterculus*, 193.  
*Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, his Esteem for *Livy*,  
184. Is cured of a Distemper by reading of  
*Quintus Curtius*, 199.  
*Amiternum*, *Salust* born there, 114.  
*Annonius*, Tutor to *Plutarch*, 101.  
*Anaxagoras*, Tutor to *Thucydides*, 18.  
*Annales Velleiani*, a valuable Piece of Learning,  
195.  
*Antipater*, his Character of *Demosthenes*, 41. His  
Saying of him, 44.  
*Antiphon*,

- Antiphon*, Master to *Thucydides*, 18.  
*Apollonius Tyanæus*, a Story of him, 89.  
*Appian*, his Descent and Preferments, 77. An Account of his Works, 78. Their Character, 79.  
*Apronianus*, the Father of *Dio Cassius*, 83.  
*Aratus*, his Poem translated by *Cicero*, 157.  
*Arnuphis*, an *Egyptian*, 90.  
*Arrian*, his various Honours and Preferments, 71. His Writings, 72. Publishes the *Enchiridion* of *Epietetus*, 73. The Character of his Writings, 75.  
*Asinius Pollio*, censures the Style of *Livy*, 185.  
*Augustus*, his Funeral, 86. His Character of *Cicero*, 163.

B.

- Bayle*, his Character of *Tacitus*, 216. His Vindication of *Suetonius*, 244.  
*Bibulus*, Consul with *Julius Cæsar*, 138.  
*Blackwell*, his Character of *Pliny*, 259.  
*Bodinus*, his Character of *Polybius*, 58. Of *Diodorus*, 62. Of *Dionysius*, 64. Of *Appian*, 79.  
*Boileau*, his Account of *Arrian*, 72.  
*Brasidas*, overcome by *Thucydides*, 19.  
*Bruno*, supplies the two first Books of *Quintus Curtius*, 197.

C.

- Cælius Secundus Curio*, his Character of *Appian*, 81.  
*Calenus*, a famous Orator abused by *Dio*, 87.  
*Cales*, a Gentleman of this City, a Story of him 184. *Callist-*



*Callisthenes*, various Accounts of his Death, 74.  
*Callistratus*, encourages *Demosthenes* in his Studies, 36.

*Capitolinus*, his Character of *Herodian*, 99.

*Casaubon*, his Account of *Polybius*, 59. Of *Herodian*, 99. Of *Tacitus*, 221.

*Catiline*, his Conspiracy defeated by *Cicero*, 149.

*Cato*, his Speech against *Catiline*, 136. His Saying of *Cicero*, 160.

*Catullus*, dedicates his Poem to *Cornelius Nepos*, 167.

*Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, her Esteem for *Tacitus*, 216.

*Cicero*, his Character of *Herodotus*, 8, 21. The Place and Circumstances of his Birth, 146. Studies under *Mutius Scævola*, 147. Pleads for *Roscius*, 147. His Studies and Advancement, 148. Pleads against *Verres*, and defeats *Catiline's* Conspiracy, 149. Is banished, 151. Returns to *Rome*, 152. Marries a second Wife, 154. Is proscribed, 155. And put to death, 156. His Merit and Character, 156. He translates *Plato's Timæus*, 158. His Studies and Travels, 158. A Description of his Person, 159. His Country Seats, 160. His great Abilities, and Character, 161, &c.

*Clelia*, various Accounts of her Adventure, 70. Her Story not well told by *Livy*, 188.

*Clodius*, his Attempt upon *Pompeia*, 134. Is accused and discharged, 135, 150.

*Colerus*, his Character of *Quintus Curtius*, 197. Of *Lucius Florus*, 232.

*Constantine the Great*, preserves the Works of *Polybius*, 51.

*Cornelius Nepos*, his Birth and Descent, 166. His Friends and Correspondence, 167. His Writings

Writings and their Character, 167. His Taste of good Sense, 170.

*Corwey*, an Abby, the Annals of *Tacitus* found there, 230.

*Cosmo de Medicis*, his Esteem for *Tacitus*, 216.

*Cossutia*, contracted to *Julius Cæsar*, 130.

*Ctesiphon*, defended by *Demosthenes*, 45.

*Cyropædia*, an Account of that Work, 32.

D.

*Dares Phrygius*, not translated by *Nepos*, 170.

*Decades* of *Livy*, an Account of them, 175.

*Demetrius Phalereus*, his Character of *Demosthenes*, 45.

*Demosthenes*, formed himself upon the Model of *Thucydides*, 23. His Descent, 35. Sent to School, 36. Resolves to be an Orator, 36. Meets with great Difficulties in his Studies, the Particulars of them, 36, 37. Is instructed by a Comedian, 39. He pleads against *Philip* of *Macedon*, 39. Receives a Present from *Darius*, 40. Behaves with Cowardice, 40. Is accused of Bribery and banish'd, 42. Poisons himself, 42. Honours paid to his Memory, 43. His natural Temper and Genius, 43. His Character, 43, &c. He flourished in the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, 49.

*Dio Cassius*, born at *Nicaa*, 82. His Dignities, 83. Is praised for his Conduct, 84. His History commended, 85. Is accused of Partiality, 86. Is censured for Superstition and Credulity, 88. The Character of his Writings, 90.

*Diodorus Siculus*, his Birth and Account of his Works,

- Works, 60. The Contents of his History, 61. The Character of his Writings, 61, &c. *Diodotus*, Master to *Cicero*, 157. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, his Character of *Herodotus*. 9. Of *Demosthenes*, 45. Of *Polybius*, 58. His Birth 66. He learns the Latin Tongue, 66. His History, 67. His Style, 67. His Treatise of Rhetoric, 69. Is censured for Credulity, 69. *Dolabella*, accused by *Julius Cæsar*, 133. *Dryo*, Mother to *Herodotus*, 3.

## E.

- Epictetus*, Master to *Arrian*, 71. *Eratosthenes*, his Character of *Demosthenes*, 46. *Evremont*, his Character of *Petronius*, 211. *Eusebius*, his Character of *Diodorus*, 64.

## F.

- Faber*, his Character of *Lucius Florus*, 236. *Fabius Pictor*, an Historographer, 178. *Felton*, Dr. his Character of *Thucydides*, 24. *Florus Lucius*, an Account of him, 231. And of his Writings, 232. Is censured for his Hyperboles, 235.

## G.

- Gordon*, his Character of *Tacitus*, 220. *Gregory* the Great, a severe Censurer of *Livy*, 186. *Gryllus*, the Son of *Xenophon*, killed, 28.

## H.

H.

- Halicarnassus*, *Herodotus* born there, 3.  
*Hegeſipyle*, the Mother of *Thucydides*, 16.  
*Henry* the Fourth of *France*, his Reſpect for *Cæſar's*  
 Commentaries, 144.  
*Herenius*, kills *Cicero*, 156.  
*Herodian*, his Family, and an Account of his Hiſto-  
 ry, 92. His Character, 98.  
*Herodotus*, an Account of his Travels, 2. The  
 Place of his Birth and Family, 3. Called the  
*Thurian*, 3. An Account of his Hiſtory, 4.  
 Gives the Name of the Nine Muſes to his  
 Books, 6. Recites his Hiſtory at the *Olympic*  
 Games, 7. The Character of his Hiſtory, 8.  
 Compared with *Thucydides*, 9. His Veracity  
 diſputed, 10. His Character defended, 11, 12.  
 An Account of his Writings, 14. He is ſaid  
 to have written the Life of *Homer*, 15.  
*Hoſtilia*, *Cornelius Nepos* born there, 166.

I.

- Iſæus*, Maſter to *Demosthenes*, 36.  
*Julius Cæſar*, his Deſcent, 130. Pardon'd by  
*Sylla*, 131. Is taken by Pirates, 132. His Beha-  
 viour among them, 132. Sets up *Pompey's*  
 Statues, 134. His Reflection upon *Alexander*  
*the Great*, 134. Speaks in favour of *Catiline*  
 and the Conſpirators, 136. Is made Governor  
 of *Spain*, 137. Is ſlain, 139. His Works  
 and Character, 140, &c. His Style, 140. An  
 Epigram by him, 141. An Account of his Com-  
 mentaries, 142. Is compared with *Demosthenes*  
 P and



and *Polybius*, 145. Overcome by the Eloquence of *Cicero*, 153.

*Justin*, an Account of his History, 260. He writes under the Reign of *Antonius Pius*, 261. Is censured, 262.

*Justin Martyr*, his Character of *Diodorus*, 63.

## K.

*Kennet, White*, his Character of *Pliny*, 257.

## L.

*Lamprius*, his Character, 101.

*Lelius*, his Friendship to *Polybius*, 58.

*Lenæus*, a Grammarian, 119.

*Lipsius*, his Character of *Thucydides*, 25. Of *Polybius*, 58. Of *Paterculus*, 191. Of *Quintus Curtius*, 197. Of *Petronius*, 212. Of *Tacitus*, 219. Of *Suetonius*, 240.

*Livy*, his Character of *Cicero*, 163. His Birth and Method of Study, 172. His Death and Character, 173, &c. His Sincerity, 174. An Inscription upon his Tomb, 175. A particular Account of his Works, 175. His great Parts, 178. The Nobleness of his Expression, 178. A great Judge of Decorum, 178. He is censured, 185. His Style is blamed, 185.

*Longinus*, his Saying of *Herodotus*, 10.

*Lucian*, his Remark upon *Herodotus*, 5. Many of that Name, 109. Born at *Samofata*, 110. His Vision of two young Women, his Profession and Death, 110, & seq. His Character, 112. His Morals, 113. His Style and Learning, 114. Is called *Prometheus*, 116.

*Lucretia*,

*Lucretia*, her Story not well told by *Livy*, 187.

*Ludovicus Vives*, his Character of *Diodorus*, 62.

Of *Livy*, 183. Of *Suetonius*, 240.

*Lycortus*, Father of *Polybius*, 51.

*Lyxus*, Father to *Herodotus*, 3.

## M.

*Maccius*, his Censure of *Polybius*, 56.

*Mammea*, the Empress, censured by *Herodian*, 96.

*Marcellinus*, his Character of *Thucydides*, 22.

*Messalina*, some Account of her, 204. Her Death, 223.

*Milo*, kills *Clodius*, 152.

*Montague*, his Character of *Diodorus*, 61.

*Mothe, La*, his Character of *Herodotus*, 15. Of *Thucydides*, 17. Of *Xenophon*, 30. His Account of *Polybius*, 56. Of *Diodorus*, 61. Of *Dionysius*, 68. Of *Herodian*, 94. Of *Tacitus*, 219. Of *Justin*, 262.

*Moyne, Le*, his Character of *Sallust*, 124.

*Muretus*, his Censure of *Suetonius*, 243.

## N.

*Neoptolemus*, instructs *Demosthenes* in Pronunciation, 39.

*Nero*, some Account of his Character, 206.

*Nicetes*, Tutor to *Pliny*, 248.

*Nicias*, his Character, 18.

*Nicholas*, the V. Pope, preserves some Fragments of *Polybius*, 50.

*Nedotius*, first publishes the Works of *Petronius*, 214.

## O.

*Octavius*, applies himself to *Cicero*, 154.

*Oppius*, a Friend to *Julius Cæsar*, 143.

## P.

*Padua*, *Livy* born there, 172.

*Paterculus*, his Character of *Cicero*, 192. His Family and publick Offices, 189. His Works and their Character, 190. &c. Is condemn'd for Flattery, 191.

*Paul* the Third, his Esteem for *Tacitus*, 216.

*Petronius*, his Family, and the Beginning of his Studies, 203. His Offices in the State, 205. Is envied by *Tigellinus*, 206. Withdraws from *Nero's* Court, 209. Dies by opening his Veins, 210. The Character of his Writings, 211, &c. Is censured, 213.

*Philip*, King of *Macedon*, his Saying of *Demosthenes*, 46.

*Photius*, his Character of *Demosthenes*, 48. Of *Arrian*, 71, 75. Of *Appian*, 77. Of *Dio Cassius*, 90. Of *Herodian*, 93.

*Phryne*, an *Athenian* Strumpet, 38.

*Pliny*, his Account of *Herodotus*, 5. Of *Julius Cæsar*, 143. Of *Tacitus*, 218. His Esteem for *Suetonius*, 238. His Descent, 246. And Education, 247. His Travels, 248. Composes a *Greek* Tragedy, 250. His Advancements in the State, 251, &c. His Character of the Christians, 253. Delivers his Panegyrick, 254. Marries *Calphurnia*, 256. His Writings, 257. And Character, 259.

*Plu-*

*Plutarch*, severely censures *Herodotus*, 11. His Birth and Family, 100. Education, 101. Travels into *Egypt*, 102. Collects Materials for his Writings, 103. His Wife and Children, 104. Is chosen Archon, 106. The Character of his Works, 107.

*Politian*, his Character of *Herodian*, 93. Of *Suetonius*, 240.

*Polybius*, in what Manner his Works were preserved, 51. Born at *Megalopolis*, 51. His Travels, 52. Is Counsellor to *Scipio Africanus*, 53. Copied by *Livy*, 54. His Character, 55. An Account of his Works, 58.

*Pompeia*, suspected of Adultery, 135.

*Pontin*, his Character of *Sallust*, 125.

*Psylli*, an Account of them, 89.

*Pythagora*, an infamous Strumpet, 208.

## Q.

*Quintilian*, his Character of *Herodotus*, 8. Of *Thucydides*, 25. Of *Demosthenes*, 45. Of *Julius Cæsar*, 140. Of *Cicero*, 163. Of *Livy*, 180. Is Tutor to *Pliny* the younger, 247.

*Quintus Curtius*, various Opinions of the Age in which he lived, 196. An Account of his Writings, 197. His Stories of *Alexander* censured, 199. Is blamed for his Affectation of Eloquence, 200. And for his Neglect of Chronology, 201.

## R

*Rapin*, his Character of *Herodotus*, 10. Of *Thucydides*, 22. Of *Polybius*, 59. Of *Appian*, 81.  
Of



Of *Sallust*, 127. Of *Julius Cæsar*, 144. Of *Paterculus*, 191. Of *Quintus Curtius*, 198. Of *Tacitus*, 222.

*Rhenanus*, first publishes the Works of *Paterculus*, 194.

*Rescius*, accused and acquitted, 258.

## S.

*Sallust*, born at *Amiternum*, 117. Is very immoral, 118. Expelled the Senate, 119. His Posts in the Government, 120. His Marriage and Friends, 121. His Works and Character, 123, 124, &c.

*Samofata*, *Lucian* born there, 110.

*Scaliger*, his Character of *Appian*, 80.

*Sejanus*, flatter'd by *Paterculus*, 194.

*Selimus*, his Respect for *Cæsar's* Commentaries, 143.

*Seneca*, accused of Luxury and Avarice, 88. His Censure of *Livy*, 186.

*Septimius Severus*, his Life written by *Herodian*, 92. Is much applauded, 93. A Description of his *Apotheosis*, 94.

*Sigonius*, his Character of *Appian*, 80.

*Silius*, Gallant to *Messalina*, 223.

*Sossius Seneca*, Patron to *Plutarch*, 105.

*Stephanus*, stabs the Emperor *Domitian*, 89.

*Suetonius*, an Account of his Father and Family, 237. Esteem'd by *Trajan*, 239. Is turn'd out of his Places, 239. His Character, 239. Many of his Works lost, 241. He is censured, 242. Is vindicated, 244.

*Suidas*, his Account of *Appian*, 77. Of *Plutarch*, 101.

*Sylla*, his Saying of *Julius Cæsar*, 131.

T.

*Tacitus*, the Emperor, his Esteem for *Tacitus* the Historian, 220.

*Tacitus*, his publick Employments, 215. An Account of his Works, 217. The Character of his Writings, 218. His Politicks are false, 224. His Annals found in *Germany*, 229.

*Terentia*, the Wife of *Sallust*, 121.

*Terentia*, Wife to *Cicero*, 149.

*Theodorus Gaza*, his Esteem for *Plutarch*, 107.

*Thucydides*, encouraged by *Herodotus* to write History, 5. Was born at *Athens*, some Particulars of his Family, 16. Accused of Atheism, 18. Defends the Liberties of his Country, 19. Is banish'd, 19. Compared with *Herodotus*, 25. His Style, 25.

*Tigellinus*, his Character, 208. A Debauchee in *Nero's* Court, 209. Resolves to destroy *Petrionius*, 210.

*Timon*, his Character, 101.

*Timoxena*, Wife to *Plutarch*, 104.

*Toland*, his Character of *Pliny*, 258.

*Trogus*, his Censure of *Sallust* and *Livy*, 127. Some Account of him, 260.

V.

*Valens*, a Saying of his, 225.

*Valerius Maximus*, his Account of *Demosthenes*,

*Verona*, many great Men born there, 167.

*Vopiscus*, his Character of *Justin*, 263.

## X.

*Xenophon*, born at *Athens*, and recommended to *Cyrus*, 27. Writes the Expedition of *Cyrus*, 28. Receives the News of his Son's Death, 29. His Works, 30. Is called the *Athenian Muse*, 30. A Jealousy between him and *Plato*, 31. Preserves the History of *Thucydides*, 31. His Works have been the forming of many great Captains, 33.

## Z.

*Zeno*, Tutor to *Cicero*, 159.

*Zenobius*, translates *Sallust* into *Greek*, 122.



F I N I S.

*Dr. C.*







